

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1871:

The Week.

MR. SUMNER delivered his expected speech on Monday before a crowded house. The speech was rather an attack on the Administration than a condemnation of the annexation as annexation; that is, was rather a condemnation of the means than of the end. He went over much of the ground traversed in his former speech, and showed conclusively, by extracts from official correspondence, and other testimony, that Baez is an adventurer, without any proper authority or color of authority to sell the Dominican territory; and that his antecedents are all of a nature to make him an object of suspicion, and prevent any government entering into any negotiations with him which *de facto* power simply on his part would not be sufficient to sustain, and negotiations for the cession of territory are certainly in this category; that his position at home is so insecure that he made repeated appeals for the armed support or "the moral support" of armed vessels of the United States, both against domestic revolution and foreign attacks; that this was afforded him freely before the annexation treaty was submitted to the Senate, and has been afforded him ever since; and that threats of a very violent kind, conveyed on one occasion, against all usage, through an admiral to the President personally, have been addressed to the Haytian Republic, to prevent its interfering with and molesting the Baez régime in Dominica, rendering the conclusion inevitable that if a state of war really exists between Dominica and Hayti, we have become parties to the quarrel. Mr. Sumner concluded with the very just observation that if President Grant "had bestowed on the state of the South one-half the zeal, will, personal attention, personal effort, and personal intercession which he has bestowed on his attempt to obtain half an island in the Caribbean Sea, the Southern Ku-klux would have existed in name only." There is a painfully large amount of truth in this. It has been said that Mr. Sumner should have waited the presentation of the Commissioners' Report before making his speech. This is an objection which may perhaps be made on grounds of taste, but hardly on grounds of justice. Nothing the Commissioners can say, or can have learnt, can shake the force of Mr. Sumner's criticisms of the course pursued by the Executive in trying to bring annexation about.

The Secretary of the Navy has been trying to do away with the effect of Captain Temple's letter to Senator Wade, announcing that there was a state of war between the United States and Hayti, first by throwing doubts on its authenticity and then by declaring that its inferences are not warranted by facts, and finally by citing Mr. Madison's occupation of West Florida, in 1811, as a precedent justifying the course of the Executive in San Domingo. We do not know what facts may be still concealed, but, on the facts now known, there is no manner of doubt that the relations the President has entered into with Dominica do amount, or would amount if he had the constitutional power to do what he has undertaken to do, not only to a defensive alliance with, but to a guarantee of, Baez's government, and do place the United States in hostile attitude towards Hayti as an enemy of Dominica, and would compel the United States forces to protect Baez against a rising of his own citizens. The Secretary's theory is that the United States, having entered into negotiations for the purchase of a "valuable acquisition," is bound to see to the security of "the acquisition" till the bargain is completed, which is simply, applied to the present case, a monstrous doctrine, because, in the present case, the title of the vendor is disputed. If A offers C a horse for sale very cheap, and B comes up during the negotiation and claims the horse, and offers to show that A stole it and is a noted horse-thief, the part of C, if an honest man, is certainly not to draw a pistol and offer to protect A against all comers till he can hand the animal over, but to stand aside and wait till the

question of ownership is settled. If Baez be really a rogue, it is hardly becoming for the United States to act as his "pal." Besides which, Mr. Madison's occupation of West Florida was not a case in point. In that case, the United States claimed the territory under a treaty with France already concluded, and occupied it lest the other claimant, Spain, should do so. In this case, we have no title whatever to St. Dominica, or color of title, or any good reason, in law, morals, or usage, for protecting Baez either against home or foreign enemies.

The Republicans in the House are reported to have agreed upon the introduction of the bill known as Mr. Shellabarger's, for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment and "other purposes," with a view to the suppression of Ku-klux outrages at the South. The first section gives any person who is deprived, under any color of law of any State, of his rights under the first section of the Amendment, the right to sue for redress in the United States courts. The second section provides that if two or more persons combine, in any State, to deprive anybody of his rights under the Constitution and laws of the United States, by acts which, in a place under Federal jurisdiction, would amount to murder, manslaughter, arson, assault, perjury, etc., they shall be held guilty of felony, and liable to \$10,000 fine, or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court. But here the legislators enter on more difficult navigation. The third section provides that wherever insurrection, or domestic violence, or unlawful combinations or conspiracies, shall so far obstruct or hinder the operation of the laws as to deprive any *portion* or class of people of any of their rights under the Constitution, etc., and the State authorities shall be unable, or fail, or refuse to protect them in their rights, the President shall employ the United States forces, or the militia, or such *other means as he may deem necessary*, in suppressing such combination. The fourth section provides that where such combinations shall overthrow or set at defiance the State authorities, or where these authorities connive at, or are in complicity with, the combinations, the President may, *in his discretion*, declare the State in rebellion, suspend the *habeas corpus*, and proclaim martial law.

When one reads Mr. Sumner's account, in the same paper in which we find the copy of this bill, of the usurpations, crimes, and misdemeanors committed by General Grant in the San Domingo matter, and remembers that the Republican party is hot from the impeachment of Grant's predecessor—whose accession to the presidential chair they hailed in the midst of their mourning over Mr. Lincoln as that of a staunch patriot—for other monstrous abuses of power, usurpations, conspiracies, and abuses of discretion, one reads this bill with perfect amazement. Considering, too, the vagueness of the terms in which the contingencies which are to call for the exercise of these extraordinary powers are described, and the wide latitude of construction of which they are capable, the facility with which evidence satisfactory to one man, hearing in secret, and not obliged to give any reason for his decisions, may be trumped up, we need have no hesitation in saying that if the party passes such an act as this, it will finish its career by a crowning stroke of folly, and will have put into the hands of the Democracy a terrible weapon, from which the negroes at the South will be the first to suffer. We beg the attention of our readers to this prediction, and ask that it may be remembered. We shall make one more, and that is, that neither this act nor any other piece of coercive legislation will pacify the South; that a year hence, if nothing better is attempted, the state of things will be very much what it is now; and that no matter how long coercive legislation is persisted in, and other means neglected, the same problem will still stare the American people in the face, aggravated by time and by the steady social and political demoralization and disorganization which a prolonged struggle between military force and discontent always brings with it. It would be cheaper to bring home every carpet-bagger and Northern man now engaged in Southern politics, and set him

in business here, than go on as is proposed; and it is the presence and activity of these men which is doing, and has done, most of the mischief.

A body of Republicans of high standing and character in Cincinnati have formed a society called the "Central Republican Association of Hamilton County," and have drawn up, signed, and published a declaration of principles which, whatever the fate of the Central Association may be, certainly expresses the opinions of a large, growing, and influential portion of the Republican party. Everything that wears, in the remotest degree, the appearance of an attempt to form a "third party," of course, is sure to call out a certain amount of abuse and derision, and we observe that the Cincinnati *Commercial*, though a warm friend of most of the ideas contained in the manifesto before us, is disposed to sneer at the movement as a mere work of doctrinaires, and unlikely to attract much popular attention. But we believe this might have been said in the beginning of every movement which has made much stir in politics since the dawn of civilization. The first man who raised his voice against eating prisoners of war had, we may be sure, a very small following, and must have often doubted whether he was not a fool for his pains. Ideas that "take the people by storm" and excite wild enthusiasm the first minute are almost always stupendous pieces of folly, of which everybody is heartily ashamed in three months or thereabouts. There is no "divine afflatus" in politics. The Ohio Republicans have got hold of one opinion, certainly, which has a world of strength in it, and that is, that the next party that is formed will have for its object the *purification* of this government—that is, the suppression of corruption by hook or by crook.

The "views and principles" of the Central Association include opposition to the further continuance of the policy of disfranchisement at the South as "incompatible with a proper regard for the fundamental principles of republican government and sound statesmanship;" the imposition of duties on imports for revenue only and no other purpose; hostility to the present protective system "as promotive of corruption in legislation and plunder in high places," besides other evils; civil-service reform, meaning by this the total withdrawal of the public service from the political arena. "We further believe," say the signers, "that party nominations should be made only when party principles are at stake, and that the custom of applying party or political tests to candidates for merely local offices degrades the standard of public morality, lowers the tone of political affairs, breeds corruption and inefficiency in office, and transfers the people's right to choose their own municipal rulers and representatives to the fraudulent lottery of caucuses and conventions, which, instead of facilitating, impede, clog, and obscure the expression of the popular will." The remaining section urges on the Republican party the duty of taking measures for a return to specie payments. Mr. Parke Godwin, in a letter to the *Evening Post*, advocates an addition to this platform, in the shape of a protest against the growing disposition of the General Government to interfere in State affairs.

The San Domingo Commissioners have got home, and it is said are going to report unanimously in favor of the annexation of that lovely island. They must have been astonished when they got to Washington by Mr. Sumner's speech, and they must have been gratified and confirmed in their opinion by the state of the South. The calm, peaceable, and highly prosperous condition of that region, and the entire absence of all trouble in the public mind concerning it, certainly leaves the Government plenty of time for the absorption of San Domingo, and indeed, for that matter, of the entire West Indies. We shall not be working up to our full power, and have half as much in our hands as we can manage, till we get all those interesting islands under our wing, and then, if the possession of San Domingo would clear off the National Debt, as General Grant says it will, the possession of the others would give us a surplus that would enable us to pay off all the national debts of all Europe without feeling it, and make the whole civilized world our debtor. There is enough in this prospect to make the coldest and most cynical weep tears of enthusiasm.

Governor Holden has been found guilty by the North Carolina Senate, but rather for the manner in which he carried out his measures of repression than for his resorting to them; that is, it is the conduct of his troops rather than his calling them out, which has brought him to grief. It is curious and highly illustrative of the unfortunate condition in which the public mind has got with regard to the government of the South, that it was gravely announced, after the verdict was rendered, that he had gone to Washington, and talked of "appealing to the courts." Whenever things do not go right with a Southern man nowadays, he is apt to say either that the Ku-klux have done it, or the horrid radicals; in either case, the Government at Washington is to set matters to rights.

The controversy between Mr. Field and General Barlow has ended in Mr. Field's announcing his willingness to meet his accuser before the Bar Association, as the tribunal best fitted to pass on the matters in dispute. This is perhaps the best termination the newspaper phase of the discussion could have had, and we have no doubt that the appeal to the public, even if it has no other result, will encourage the Bar Association to do its duty in the matter. There is, of course, a strong desire in some quarters to make it appear that the Association can do nothing in an affair of this kind, inasmuch as it has no legal authority; but this is a great mistake. It cannot expel a member from the bar, but it can inflict a penalty of the severest kind on any lawyer whom it finds guilty of misconduct; and we hope it will not shirk its work, and, in lieu of a clean-cut decision, treat us to general reflections on the defectiveness of human testimony, on the weakness of human nature, and the tendency of all human questions to have two sides. If it evades any of the responsibility which is fairly put upon it in this first case of importance which comes before it, it will consign itself to general ridicule and contempt. There is one thing which, we think, it is safe to assume, whatever be the merits of the Barlow-Field controversy, and that is, that the overhauling which the morals of the bench and bar are undergoing will make the business of "receiving" people's property, under "orders" from Barnard, a little less attractive than it has hitherto been. We think the Bar Association, or some association, could hardly do better work than employ counsel to watch the practice before this notorious functionary, and let the public know what is going on. It is not possible, perhaps, to put him to shame, but "manipulating" him ought to be made hot work for members of the bar, and, unless we are greatly mistaken, it will be hereafter.

We made some comments a fortnight ago on the Tweed monument project, in which we, excusably enough, did injustice to several respectable men whose names appeared to the address, or whatever the document was called, in which the proposal was made. It appears that their names were put to it without asking their leave—a practice which, we believe, is by no means uncommon in getting up petitions and addresses, and which is resorted to in the confidence that the victims will either dislike or not think it worth their while to come out with a disavowal. Nevertheless, we cannot help saying that any man who lets his name stand to a paper to a certain extent assumes the responsibility that is put upon him, or we should say so if the signing of papers, not binding one to pay money, had not ceased to have any significance or importance in many persons' eyes. It would not be by any means difficult to obtain a very respectable list of signatures in this city of the same persons, within a single week, to three papers; one a petition asking the Governor to pardon a convicted robber; another a recommendation to the President to give him a place of trust and profit in the Custom-house; and the third a letter to the criminal himself, asking him "to name a day when it would be convenient for him to receive his friends."

The week has been a quiet one in the great trade circles. The falling-off in the cotton receipts, which, however, still continue large, and the liberal exports to England, have kept the price from declining further. Breadstuffs continue firm, owing to the comparatively limited stocks on the coast; but the early opening of the canals and the

large accumulations in the interior justify the hope that supplies will soon increase and prices recede to the figures of last spring. Provisions of most kinds are lower, but butcher's meat, after the recent heavy fall, has not declined further, although the great decline has led to the failure of some of the oldest cattle-houses in the country. The magnitude of this trade may be judged by the fact that one firm is reported to have failed with liabilities exceeding one million of dollars. The general trade for domestic consumption has been active and encouraging, though both in cotton and woollen goods gradual reductions in price are the order of the day. There is nothing definite in the news from the coal regions, though there are plenty of rumors concerning arbitrations and settlements.

Money keeps easy and abundant. The bulls in the stock market are having everything their own way, putting up one stock after another in rapid succession, but without any good reason except that they have the power to do it. So dead, however, is the speculative element, that in spite of the great advance in prices the outside public holds aloof and gives the great speculative ring combinations but little opportunity to sell their stocks. Secretary Boutwell's conversions of the old six per cent. bonds into the new five per cents. have somewhat increased, but they are confined almost exclusively to the operations of some national banks. Wall Street is full of rumors concerning the Secretary's plans for the ensuing month in aid of this funding measure. From Europe so far the accounts are not favorable, no doubt influenced somewhat by the condition of affairs in France. The total amount of subscriptions is announced to be \$42,000,000.

The crisis in Paris, in so far as it has any political character—that is, any motive beyond a desire to live without labor, and a dislike to pay rent—is a rising of the city against the country. The Assembly is undeniably the product of universal suffrage, but, as its political complexion is not agreeable to the artisans of the capital, they rise against it as remorselessly as they would against a despot; and, sooner than be governed by the majority of Frenchmen, would like to make Paris into a separate republic. Indeed, the present outbreak is strictly analogous to the outbreak of June, 1848, and was sure to come sooner or later. In 1848, the city Socialists had also found out that the National Assembly were reactionary and “traitors,” so they revolted, as they are now doing, and fought desperately; but at that time the Assembly had Generals Cavaignac and Changarnier and 100,000 regular soldiers at its command. The late vote in Paris is, of course, a farce. No permanent government is possible in the capital, except under strong military protection, inasmuch as the Reds claim the right of always superintending in person the proceedings of their legislature, and turning it out of doors whenever it goes wrong. The appearance of our old friend Cluseret as “Minister of War” is one of the most comical incidents of this strange situation. The long delay of the Thiers government in taking any decisive action of course greatly helps the revolt and increases the chances of civil war extending over the whole country. All depends now on the success the Versailles government is achieving with its military organization. The talk of the Duc d'Aumale as a successor to Thiers is perhaps premature, but he is really the only man of character and ability in the foreground: and the disadvantage of his being a prince of the blood, and it is a great disadvantage at this crisis, may be lost sight of as the case grows more desperate, and property becomes more seriously alarmed. In the meantime, provisions must begin to be very scarce in Paris; and when “The People” gets hungry, there will be what the reporters call “lively times.”

While the disorders in Paris culminated, on Wednesday the 22d, in a massacre, the Assembly, at Versailles, was deliberating in the most helpless condition. Most of the forts around Paris were occupied by the rebels; portions of the regular force openly fraternized with them; others could not be trusted; General Chanzy and others were kept as hostages in Montmartre; Lyons and Marseilles showed signs of a readiness to follow the example of Paris; and, to augment the perplexity, Bismarck, in a letter sent to Jules Favre, complained

of infractions by the insurgents of some of the peace stipulations and threatened to treat Paris as an enemy should violations of the preliminaries continue to take place. In spite of all difficulties, however, the Assembly seemed disposed to reject all “compromise with the guilty,” and Thiers, in repeated proclamations, assured the people of his determination to preserve the sovereignty of the nation intact. The loyal people of Paris, too, began gradually to awaken from their lethargy. At a meeting of mayors and deputy mayors, Admiral Saisset was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the city, with General Langlois as Chief of Staff, and Schoelcher as Chief of Artillery—all three deputies to the Assembly from the city of Paris—and the loyal Guards soon succeeded in occupying a number of important positions, and narrowing those of their adversaries. On Thursday, the Assembly adopted a plan proposed by the Government for the organization of volunteers, under the terms of which every department of France was ordered immediately to send a battalion to Versailles. The insurgents, on their part, made preparations for strenuous defence, and appointed Colonels Duval, Brunel, and Endes their generals, and Menotti Garibaldi—to his honor be it said, in his absence—their commander-in-chief. Alarms and arrests were frequent, and collisions seemed imminent.

Before, however, proceeding to extremities and “inaugurating the horrors of civil war in Paris,” which, in fact, it could hardly yet contemplate in earnest, the National Assembly was entreated by the mayors, in a communication, to give them full powers to settle affairs. And whether these full powers were distinctly granted, conditionally or unconditionally, or not, negotiations were immediately entered into with the insurgents, which, on Friday, resulted in the leaving of the mayoralties in the hands of the occupants, on condition of their consenting to the holding of a communal election, as well as to the election by the National Guard of its commander-in-chief, and in a promise on the part of the insurrectionary Central Committee to disband their organization.

On Saturday the Central Committee, the Paris deputies to the Assembly, and the mayors and deputy mayors, issued a joint proclamation ordering the communal elections for the next day, and urging all citizens to vote, and “give the voting a serious character.” The elections accordingly began on the morning of Sunday, the 26th, and passed off without disorder; and the Central Committee resigned its functions, “yielding to the newly-elected Municipal Government.” The barricades were left standing, but the cannon were withdrawn or turned inward. Simultaneously, however, Admiral Saisset disbanded the battalions of loyal National Guards, and left for Versailles, preceded by General Chanzy, who had been released from prison. Flourens, in Paris, issued a manifesto, demanding the creation of an army composed only of National Guards, while at Versailles the members of “the Republican Left” resolved to stand by the Government “so long as it remains true to the Republic.” And the unfortunate Government itself issued a proclamation to the prefects, assuring them that “order conquers disorder, and the Republic triumphs over anarchy.” Anarchy, also, in the meanwhile had triumphed at Marseilles.

The result of the election was an overwhelming victory of the insurrectionists. The candidates of the Central Committee were elected in all the arrondissements except three, and among the successful candidates were Blanqui, Flourens, and Pyat. The vote was, however, very light, more than a majority of the qualified electors abstaining from voting, under the pressure of a movement in which really insane men like “General” Lullier, and men of insane ambition and recklessness, like General Cluseret, played a conspicuous part. There were also insurgents in the Montmartre and Belleville districts, who abstained because they considered the doings, even of their Central Committee, as reactionary, and preferred keeping guard over their cannon, soon to be used against the new “free and autonomous” Republican municipality. The minister of War, Leflo, has resigned and General Faidherbe has been summoned to Versailles. The Germans have stopped their retrograde movements, and their outposts have been advanced to Vincennes.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF GOVERNMENT AT THE SOUTH.

WE had a discussion last June with the Charleston (S. C.) *Daily Republican*, the official and leading Radical paper of the State, about the character of the State government. We said a great many unpleasant things about the State Legislature and the State officers. We accused them of gross ignorance and dishonesty, and made open proclamation of our belief that such a government as they were carrying on could not possibly last, and that it was in its very constitution an offence against civilization. We challenged the *Republican* to tell us how many of the State legislators could read the "Pilgrim's Progress" intelligently, it being, perhaps, the easiest reading in the English language, and they being the lawgivers of a large and wealthy commonwealth, beset by some of the gravest social and political problems. It did not dare to answer the question; but treated us, in reply, to one of the usual bursts of rhetoric about the negro members of the legislature (a majority, we believe) having had a progress of their own "quite similar to Bunyan's," and so on, and informed us that "dozens and dozens" of them could write far better articles about South Carolina politics than had ever appeared in the *Nation*.

We said, in reply to this sort of talk, that we were among the number of those who advocated the extension of the franchise to the blacks as a means of protection, and as a sign of their equality before the law, and that we believed that this would in the long run have proved sufficient for their protection. It would have furnished the whites with a powerful reason for conciliating them and treating them kindly, and would have, in all probability, prevented the appearance of race lines in party politics—perhaps one of the greatest misfortunes that can happen a community—and it would not have excluded from the service of the State the great number of educated, experienced, and honest native whites which every Southern State contains, and with whose service no Southern State can safely dispense. They are "ex-rebels," but they are not thieves. They have owned slaves, and revolted in defence of slavery; but they are influential, economical, and trustworthy in the management of State affairs, and it was of the first importance not only to the negro, but to the whole Union, that, during the transitional or reconstructive period following the war, they should neither be driven into hostility to the local government nor prevented from giving it the benefit of their experience and ability.

Nothing would satisfy the hot-headed majority in Congress, however, but to drive these men into private life, and hand over the government to ignorant negroes and worthless Northern adventurers; and the pretext on which this was done was, that this was the only way in which the blacks and the Unionists could be protected in the enjoyment of their lives and property and in the exercise of the franchise. It was quite useless to point out what anybody's experience of human nature might have told him, even if he knew nothing of the lessons of history, how futile any such expectation was. The whole American system of government and society is based upon equality, conciliation, and compromise. Everybody is allowed to vote—even the foreign rabble of this city—not because people believe their voting does no mischief, but because their exclusion from the franchise, by exasperating and embittering them, would do more. The very execution of the laws in a country where all the officers of the law are drawn from the body of the people and return to it, and where the Government has no armed force at its disposal, depends on the general sympathy of the community with the legislation and its respect for the legislators. In all that relates to the government of his own State, these truths are familiar as household words to every man at the North. Anybody who proposed here to disfranchise even "Reddy the Blacksmith" because he was a "bad man," and vexed his neighbours, and was disposed to knock people down on their way to the polls, would be laughed at. Nevertheless, an expedient which, proposed as a remedy for grave political evils in any State in the North, would excite laughter, and does excite laughter, when the well-known "educated American" who has "lived long in Paris" ventures to hint at it, was solemnly applied to the whole South at the close of the war.

The American remedy for bad government is to give the government the largest possible popular basis, and let the majority get out of their difficulties as best they can; but the remedy ap-

plied in the South was a feudal one, and consisted in sifting the population, and letting nobody take part in the government who could not give proof of what the Puritans called "constant good affection." The republican cure for discontent is to call the malcontents into the council-chamber and hear what they have to say, and try to soothe and conciliate them—in short, to treat them as brethren. The monarchical remedy is to shoot them down, or lock them up, or impose disabilities on them till they "repent" or confess they have done wrong, and promise to do better—till, in short, they kiss the rod or lick the dust. Every American is familiar with the former, and has always practised it in politics and business and society; nevertheless, the very first occasion on which the country was called on to deal with discontent on a great scale, the monarchical remedy was resorted to, and the republican one unhesitatingly thrown aside as worthless, and everybody denounced as "unpatriotic" who said a word in its favor. Everybody knows, too, what a misleading thing faction is, and how apt intense personal feeling is to cloud the judgment, and yet we see Congress listening with deep attention and respect to the opinions of the frantic Unionists and colored men who come up hot from internecine contests with their neighbors as to what ought to be done with the South—and their opinions, of course, all run in the same direction: their enemies ought to be kept down with the strong hand, and cowed and humiliated—a process we should all of us like to see performed on our enemies, but to which in sensible communities we are not treated.

One other curious departure from democratic doctrines has been displayed in our mode of dealing with the South. The democratic theory of human nature is that it is, on the whole and at bottom, good; and that for social and political purposes you cannot do better than trust to its instincts, and that, where it has shown itself in a bad light, it has been due to the corrupting or maddening influence of oppression. But during the war—as was not wonderful—the belief sprung up that human nature among slaveholders and rebels was hopelessly and incurably depraved, and that the usual reformatory influences might be brought to bear on it in vain; and that the only arguments of any value in dealing with men who approved of human bondage, or bore arms against the United States, were the halter and the prison and the test-oath. That this opinion should have held its ground during the heat of the rebellion was not surprising; that it should be allowed to influence the policy of the United States in dealing with so weighty a question as the pacification of the South six years after the war is over, is, we do not hesitate to say, discreditable to our good sense. Southern human nature is like other human nature. It is affected in just the same way by the same influences. It loves life and ease and security, is grateful for kindness, expands under confidence, rejoices in the growth of civilization, and is maddened by injustice or hostility—not, perhaps, in all cases in the same degree as Northern human nature, but in some degree; and when we say this, we furnish the key to the Southern problem. Slavery is a bad thing, and rebellion is a bad thing; but, were they twice as bad, they could not convert Southern white men into fiends. They may have rendered them exceptionally difficult for Northern men to deal with, but this is no excuse for refusing to deal with them by the ordinary methods.

These were all *a priori* arguments when used five years ago; they have now been justified by actual experiment. The proscriptive system for the protection of life and property at the South has been tried and has totally failed. The disaffected have not grown good, and learned to love the blacks; they have grown worse, and have taken to killing the blacks wholesale, and society is on the brink of disorganization in several States. The remedy is still the same. We must still, if we would end confusion, resort to the method to which we should have resorted five years ago: we must hand the Government over to the people, and let the persons who have most influence and knowledge and are most trusted by that portion of the community whose co-operation is most necessary to the proper conduct of the Government, administer it if they will, and as best they can. The notion that any permanent good can come of martial law or proscription, or that they prepare the way for anything but more martial law and more proscription, is a dangerous and monstrous delusion, and we are glad to have another opportunity of denouncing it, in the certainty that if allowed

to govern our policy at the present crisis, the next five years will illustrate its folly still more strikingly than the last five years have illustrated it.

As to its results during the last five years, we shall cite as a witness our old friend, the *Charleston Daily Republican*, whose present plight ought to be a warning to unscrupulous party organs everywhere. The solemn confessions it is compelled to make now, at the eleventh hour, in the presence of the misery and disorder into which its friends have plunged the State, is as striking an exposure as we have yet seen of the mendacity and charlatanism by which the work of reconstruction at the South has been thus far, though we hope not fatally, hindered. It thus enumerates the evils from which the State has been suffering, and which furnish excuses to the Ku-klux:

"1. In our State the superiority of numbers threw the government almost absolutely into the hands of the colored citizens. The late slaves practically ruled the late masters. This was a calamity. It was a repetition of the old curse of South Carolina, namely, the ruling of one race by another. True, slavery had been abolished, but there are sometimes oppressions in the name of liberty, and these real oppressions, and fancied oppressions too, the whites keenly felt.

"2. The evil will be seen to be the greater if we look at the real condition of the colored people as they emerged from slavery. Their training had certainly not been of a kind to make them statesmen. We speak of the great body of the colored people. We speak kindly. There are men among them well up in statecraft, but the colored people, as a people, were not only untrained in the schools, but untrained in the commonest matters of politics and government. They were ignorant and easily misled. Their political instincts were, it is true, in the right direction, that is, on the side of liberty; but they had to trust some one as leader, and unfortunately they too often trusted the veriest scoundrels simply because these pretended to bear the dear name of Republican. The Republican party had given to them liberty, and they were grateful to that great party for that great work, and implicitly trusted those who bore the standard of that party. They are learning wisdom in this matter; learning that some wolves go about dressed up as sheep."

After, however, complimenting the negroes on their social advance, it goes on to say:

"But that they have made great mistakes must be admitted. They undertook too much. They were not fitted to do everything in ruling South Carolina. And demagogues led them not only to believe that their late masters were in every case their foes, and therefore to be excluded from every office, but also led them into the fatal blunder of putting men in office simply because they were colored. This matter of color has had much to do with our politics. In the last election many of the men elevated to office were placed there for this one simple reason, that they were colored. Some of these had no fitness whatever for office.

"3. Corrupt and incompetent officers. This we have too often admitted and condemned to need to give a fresh admission and condemnation now. The evil is of startling magnitude. It not only affects the legislature, but through other ranks, down to trial justices, etc.

"4. Heavy taxation, in part made necessary by bad measures passed by the legislature.

"5. The militia, so organized that, as claimed, the whites have not the same advantages as the colored people."

Speaking of the governor's appointees, it says some of them "had better hammer stone in the penitentiary" than hold office; and speaking of the elected officers, it says "many are ignorant or degraded, and altogether sold to the devil."

We might be told that phenomena like these may be witnessed in New York, which is true. But in New York no one is disfranchised, and we may add that, were decent people in New York hot-blooded, like the same class in South Carolina, and did they believe, as the South Carolinians do, that Ku-kluxing would work reform, they would be busy at it day and night, and many a hardened ruffian would be yelling for Federal troops to save him from the consequences of his villainy. We say deliberately, too, that we believe a community which sits down, as we do, under some of the evils from which we here suffer and of which we hear every day, is doubtless wiser than the South Carolinians, but it is very doubtful whether it is healthier in spirit. We seek neither to defend nor palliate Ku-kluxes, but we cannot allow the persons who sow the seeds from which Ku-kluxery naturally springs to throw the whole blame on the men who engage in it.

MATERIAL INTERESTS IN FRANCE.

THE rapidity with which nations recover from the material effects of the longest and most destructive wars, is a standing marvel to all who have not carefully investigated the relation of the annual pro-

duction of wealth to the accumulated savings or capital of a nation. We hear a great deal of older nations possessing the inherited wealth of generations, as if any large proportion of the existing wealth were of great age; while the truth is that the whole of our inherited wealth is utterly insignificant, and that almost all our wealth is, as it were, the product of yesterday. It is no exaggeration to say that the average age of all the wealth in the world probably does not exceed, if it reaches, five years. Nor does it need a profound investigation to convince any one of the general truth of this statement. Of what does our wealth consist? Buildings of every description constitute the most permanent of all important classes of our wealth. Yet even in the oldest countries of Europe, unless they are in utter stagnation, the new buildings erected annually form a very important percentage of those already existing, and tend to lower materially the average age of all, while the old ones, with the comparatively rare exceptions of a few substantial palaces and churches, need so many repairs to keep them habitable that they may fairly be said to be remade every few years. Next to buildings come railroads, ships, machinery; yet railroads are practically rebuilt every seven years, the average life of ships, especially wooden ones, is even less, and it needs no mechanic to tell that there is no machinery of any description that is not constantly wearing out, despite of repairs, or rendered valueless by new inventions and improvements. The whole of our agricultural wealth, farm-houses, barns, implements, cattle, animals of every kind, crops, and fences are all but a few years old; and a very large part of them, the crops and all the increase of the herds, are the creation of the year. These examples suffice to point out the falsity of the general belief that the wealth of the world is of great age, and to make it evident that all existing property is of comparatively recent production. But we derive even more positive evidence from a comparison of the results furnished by actual statistics. These show that in the United States, for example, the annual production of wealth is equal to nearly three-fourths of all existing wealth, so that if it were possible to save all we produce we might double our existing wealth in fifteen months, or, if it were possible to produce without capital, we might destroy every vestige of property now on the earth, and in fifteen months our labor would reproduce the whole. Of course it is impossible to produce without capital; but then war, even in its most destructive form, cannot destroy more than a very small portion of the total wealth or capital of a great nation. Of course, too, it is impossible to save all we produce; but it is easy to see that an economical people, under the pressure of necessity, can make much greater savings than they have ever made before; in other words, consume a much smaller proportion of their product than they were in the habit of doing.

By a consideration of these facts, the marvel of the rapid recovery of peoples apparently ruined by war is easily explained. The time of war itself compels many privations and economies, which amount in some form or another to an increased national saving, while the return of peace stimulates to intenser activity and to closer economy. When it is understood how great production is, compared to capital, it is no longer difficult to understand how even a slight increase in production, a slight decrease in consumption, can quickly repair even serious injury to the accumulated capital. A nation like the United States is in a position similar to that of an individual whose capital of \$100,000, joined to his labor, produces him an income of \$75,000 a year. If by any accident his capital is reduced one-fourth, increased labor and increased economy will speedily enable him to replace the deficiency out of his earnings. But in order to do this, it is of course necessary that his income should be large, that he should be able to reduce his expenditures, and willing to work harder than before. It is upon conditions similar to these that the ability of France to recover from her losses by war chiefly depends. If the income of France is large; if she is able and willing to reduce her expenditures, we shall witness in France, as in other countries desolated by war, a rapid recovery of prosperity, a rapid reproduction of the property destroyed.

Unfortunately for France, her annual production is comparatively limited. In no country of Europe is there so large a proportion of small property-holders, whose cultivation has been carried on for the last fifty years by the same methods and with the same implements as

under the elder Napoleon. Agriculture has been reduced to a system of almost Chinese minuteness, but rendered, by exhaustion of the soil, by competition with more intelligent nations, and by the steady process of deterioration of man and beast, so unproductive as barely to furnish subsistence to the owner in return for the most exhaustive labor and in spite of a truly proverbial economy. This extreme subdivision of the soil prohibits every improvement, and results, or has resulted, in stagnation of production, of wealth, of population, and intelligence. It is among these rural districts that the advent of children, threatening the division of the ancestral half-acre, is dreaded far more than among the city shopkeepers. It is here that mothers habitually sell their own babes' food to nourish the children of strangers for pay. It is here that the recruiting sergeant gathers those conscripts whose simple bravery and patient endurance and ignorance form the marvel of those who have accompanied them on the march and to the battle-field. It is here that a woman and a cow can still be occasionally seen harnessed to a plough *à la Louis Quatorze*. It is among these rural districts, living still in the traditional light of the First Empire, that the Third Napoleon found his chief support. It is here that was rooted the power which, by means of the plébiscite, enabled him and his confederates to overrule the intellect of France; to undermine its sense of honesty; to corrupt its official morality, and lead it into a ruinous career of self-adulation and self-deception. What can be expected from these regions in the way of aid to restore the waste of war? But little. A production forced, these many years back, to the greatest height of which the average intellect of the producer is capable, and not to be increased by any known method, save a total revolution in the ownership of land, not conceivable except as the result of widespread famine; a consumption limited, for generations past, to the veriest pittance that will keep body and soul together, and not to be diminished save by actual starvation—what prospect do these conditions offer of the increased production, the diminished consumption, by which alone the war's destruction can be repaired? Very little.

The success of the national loans of Napoleon III. has done much to deceive the world concerning the condition of the French people, and especially concerning what has been called "the reserved financial strength" of the country. In the first place, this course of incessant borrowing to make up the chronic deficit, even in times of peace, is the most striking evidence that the sources of taxation were exhausted, that it was found unsafe to wring more money from an impoverished people. Disinterested foreign economists have long since pointed out this danger of collapse in the French financial system, from its inability to bear the slightest additional tension; and their prescience is confirmed in the strongest possible manner by the desperate measure adopted by the new Government of raising a large income from duties on imports, which in France, more than any other country, consist of the raw materials of industry. In the next place, these Imperial loans, astounding as was their success at the time, have really proved to-day the chief source of French weakness. From 1815 to 1851, France was virtually in a continuous ferment, inspiring no faith among her own people in the permanence of her institutions. It is the unquestioned merit of the Second Empire that, since Waterloo, it alone succeeded for nearly twenty years in convincing the people of its permanence. Prior to its advent the French, who practically know no savings-banks, who had no opportunity to invest in land, who were too ignorant to purchase improved tools and implements, even had their restricted land-ownership permitted the use of them, were very largely in the habit of converting their petty savings into coin and hoarding it. It was these accumulated petty savings of generations that the loans of the Empire drew from the people and wasted. This "reserved power" of the nation has been looked upon as the measure of the people's annual saving. It has been constantly represented by the Imperial press as unmistakable evidence of the continued growth and prosperity of the people, whereas it was really only an evidence of their growing faith in the Empire—a faith which, like most French faiths recently, has proved a delusion. As a proof of the growing annual savings of the French people it is comparatively valueless, and cannot offset the evidence to the contrary furnished by their admitted

inability to bear further taxation. In considering the course of France with regard to her debt, these facts will assume increased importance; they are referred to here chiefly to show that the argument in favor of a probable rapid recovery in France, based upon the evidence of these loans, is far from conclusive.

Surveying the condition of the agricultural population in France, we are constrained to conclude that the prospect of a rapid revival of prosperity is decidedly discouraging. But the farmers do not constitute the whole of France; the industrial resources of the nation are great. But even here the prospect is gloomy. Two of the wealthiest of its industrial provinces are precisely those taken by the enemy—Alsace, with its cotton-printing and wool-dyeing; Lorraine—of which a third is gone—with its coal and iron; and those that remain are to resume after peace with the superadded burden of fresh import duties on the raw material which they manufacture, rendering competition in the markets of the world next to impossible. The drawback resulting from a six-months' interruption to manufacturing, which in itself gives a powerful advantage to a competitor, will thus be aggravated by the inability to resume the competition even on the same terms that prevailed before the war.

A great nation like the French is not ordinarily ruined by a six-months' war, nor by the loss of two provinces; but when the war is both the result and the final evidence of years of bad government, when it follows upon a long period of financial exhaustion, disguised by the most reckless appliance of all the ingenious devices known only to French finance, then we must not be misled into anticipating as rapid a revival as, for instance, our own Southern States witnessed after a war far longer and more exhausting. Without taking into account the Prussian indemnity, which, from its peculiar nature, requires a more extended consideration, and is likely to have most disastrous consequences, the prospect for the material welfare of France must be considered as gloomy in the highest degree.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE PRUSSIAN.

THE reports of Colonel Stoffel, of the French Staff, who resided for two or three years in Prussia, as French Military Commissioner, after 1866, on the Prussian military system and the condition of the Prussian armies, have often been referred to in our columns. They were discovered amongst the Imperial papers in the Tuileries, a majority of them, it is said, unopened. Had they been opened and read, and believed in, there is no doubt the war of 1870 would not have been attempted, for they would have shown it to be ridiculous to pit the French army against the force Prussia was prepared to bring into the field. Only extracts from them have seen the light until very recently. They have, however, now been published in full, and as the Prussian success in the late war is one of the most extraordinary phenomena in history, and will probably gain rather than diminish in interest as time wears on, and as the *Nation* has steadily contended from the very outset that its causes were mainly moral, and were to be found in the very constitution of Prussian society and in the habits and training of the people, even more than in the superiority of Prussian strategists or the excellence of the Prussian military organization, we shall take leave to justify our position by a more extended notice of Stoffel's reports than we have hitherto been able to give.

In April, 1868, he pronounced the Prussian army superior to the French, in the most positive manner, and predicted this would be found to be the case "if war broke out to-morrow," putting aside, of course, all conditions, such as the comparative skill of the commanders, which could not be foreseen. The elements of superiority, he says, of one army over another are "moral and material." The moral ones lie in the character, temperament, traditions, history, and education of the nation at large; the material, in the organization of the army, the military training of the officers and soldiers, and in their arms and equipment.

The moral superiority of the Prussian army to the French he ascribes to three things: 1, the compulsory service; 2, the high state of popular education; 3, the strong sense of duty diffused through the Prussian people. After speaking of the respect with which the army and everything pertaining to it are treated in Prussian society, he goes on to say:

"To speak only of the officers, what a fine example they present to all the other classes. Do we see there as elsewhere those who are distinguished by birth or fortune living in lamentable idleness? Far from it. The members of the richest families and the wearers of the most illustrious names serve as officers, endure all the hardships of military life, and thus preach by their example. In the presence of such a spectacle,

not only does one find one's self forced to esteem this serious and rough people, but one comes almost to dread the strength which such institutions must give the army."

Coming to the question of compulsory education, he says:

"The Prussian nation is the most enlightened in Europe, that is, in which education is most widely diffused through all classes. In France, where we are so completely ignorant of all that relates to foreign countries, we have no idea of the amount of intellectual labor of which Northern Germany is the scene. Not only do common schools abound, but, while in France the centres of intellectual activity and production are a few great cities only, Northern Germany is covered with them, and indeed, to enumerate them all, one has to go down to towns of the third and fourth rank."

He then combats and ridicules the French notion that hardy peasants make better soldiers than educated men, and says that nothing did more to give the Prussians the sense of superiority which made their victories easy in the war of 1866, than their discovery of the ignorance of the Austrian troops. From that moment they had the utmost contempt for the enemy.

What Colonel Stoffel says of the German "sense of duty" we shall quote entire, as we have often dwelt on it ourselves, and endeavored to show the important part it plays in politics, and the folly of trying to substitute for it simple liberty and individualism:

"I have still to point out a quality which peculiarly characterizes the Prussian nation and contributes to increase the moral value of its army—I mean the *sense of duty*. This is developed in such a degree among all classes that one never ceases to be astonished by it, no matter how much one studies the Prussian people. It is not my province to investigate the causes of this trait; I confine myself to mentioning it. The most remarkable illustration of this devotion to duty is furnished by the employees of all grades in the different branches of the administration of the monarchy. They are paid with surprising parsimony; they are generally burdened with families; and yet they toil all day long with indefatigable zeal, without complaining, and without appearing to desire an easier position. 'We take good care not to meddle with it,' said M. Bismarck to me one day; 'this laborious and badly-paid bureaucracy does the best part of our work, and constitutes one of our principal forces.'"

He sums up the elements of superiority possessed by the Prussian army as follows:

"1. The deep and healthy sentiment that the principle of compulsory military service diffuses through the army, which contains all the manliness, intelligence, and living strength of the country, and regards itself as the nation in arms.

"2. The intellectual level of the army, which is higher than in any other country, owing to a wider popular education diffused through all classes of the people.

"3. In all ranks and conditions a stronger sense of duty than is to be found in France.

"4. The special services, for the working of the railroads and telegraphs and the care of the wounded, which are organized permanently with the greatest pains, and without diminishing the number of the combatants.

"5. The greater effectiveness of the infantry fire, owing to the peculiar temperament of the North Germans and the great pains taken with the rifle practice.

"6. The superiority of the material of the artillery, both as regards precision, range, and rapidity of fire."

There is, perhaps, nothing more interesting in the reports than what Colonel Stoffel tells "of the composition of the Prussian staff," which he pronounces by far the best in Europe. The manner in which it is made up is thoroughly Prussian, and, indeed, is an excellent illustration of the whole Prussian system. No officers are educated specially for it before entering the army, nor is it a separate organization properly so-called. It is simply a collection of officers of proved talents and acquirements, selected from the whole army and retained at headquarters for the performance of staff duties. General von Moltke was then, as he is now, the head of the staff, and he does as he pleases about its organization and duties. Any lieutenant who has served three years in a regiment, and thinks he has in him the makings of a staff-officer, can present himself for admission to the Military Academy, at Berlin, and, if he can pass the required examination, he enters. The average annual number of candidates is 120; the average number of those who succeed in passing is 40. Once in, the student finds himself plunged into a vast range of studies which, of course, nobody who has not a strong head and thorough preparation can hope to manage. The course embraces tactics, theoretical and practical; military history; armament; fortifications, permanent and temporary; the history of sieges; topographical surveying; military geography and administration; and then, as accessory studies, mathematics, geodesy, universal history, literature, the elements of philosophy, general geography, chemistry, experimental physics, and French, English, and Russian. The course lasts three years: nine months of each of the first two are given to study, and the remaining

three months (in autumn) are passed with the regiment in the field manoeuvres. In the third year, instruction is given in the duties peculiar to the staff, and a month is passed with the professors in a journey through some rough country, which is carefully studied with reference to reconnaissances, outpost duty, and the encampment of troops; and the students are practised in sketching.

The school course over, there takes place what is called the "first choice." The officers all go back to their regiments without examination or classification, but the professors nominate twelve to the General as the most studious and capable of all, taking care to select them in as nearly equal proportions as possible from the three arms of the service. After they have been six or eight months with their regiments, in complete ignorance of what is in store for them, General von Moltke selects as many of the twelve as have showed most aptitude and zeal after leaving the Academy, and summons them to Berlin for actual service on the staff under his own eye. Here they find themselves in a kind of school of which he is the head master. They live with him, and he makes himself thoroughly acquainted with each man. Moreover, he gives them lectures on their duties and on the various subjects with which they have to be familiar. He makes them write essays or memoirs on prescribed questions, and these he criticises before the whole staff, without revealing the name of the writer. In fact, the greatest pains is taken through the course not to awaken jealousy or emulation, and not to create either depression or vanity. This trial lasts eighteen months or two years, and the candidates are again sent back to their regiments, still in complete ignorance of their chances or of the impression they have made. But the General has already marked his men, and they find themselves, after a few months, promoted to the rank of captains, and are ordered to prepare for staff duty and wear the staff uniform. The others hear nothing more about this episode in their career, but remain in their regiments. After such trials as these, it may be readily imagined that the Prussian staff is a remarkable body of men. No wonder Colonel Stoffel, after a saddening comparison with it of the officers of the French *état-major*, concludes by saying, as his closing admonition, "*Méfions nous de l'état-major prussien!*"

The events of the war have, of course, justified his provisions very remarkably, as they have also justified those of General Trochu, who has had a sad personal experience of his own skill as a prophet. Trochu's book is full of allusions to the extent to which the discipline of the French army has been affected by the decline of the sense of duty among the whole French people. He says distinctly that the craving for equality and the dislike of responsibility to anybody which have spread to such a lamentable degree among the people, have weakened the control of the officers over their troops and made it difficult to count on the punctual and exact execution of orders. Combine this with the neglect of education, and we have all that is needed to account for the ease and completeness of Prussian victories, and for the readiness of the French troops, during the late disturbances, to "fraternize" with the mob. A man has only to occupy himself exclusively for a while with the consideration of his own "rights," and with making the separation of his individuality from his neighbor's individuality as complete as possible, and to deny all responsibility for the way he behaves to anybody but abstractions such as Humanity, or Posterity, or the Infinite, or the Absolute, or the Round, or the Whole, to make himself nearly useless for either war or peace. That there is a tendency in this direction in modern democracy there is no denying, and it is well illustrated by a story told of a gentleman in the South, during the war who, having made himself remarkable by his untruthfulness, and finding his word doubted on a particular occasion, declared "he was willing to have the matter enquired into—in fact, he would rather have it enquired into—at the Last Day."

THE PEACE.

BERLIN, March 9.

PEACE at last, and a glorious peace! *Seven months* have sufficed to achieve the greatest military feat of the century. On August 2, Napoleon at Saarbrücken opened hostilities, and gave his boy Lulu the baptism of fire and blood; exactly seven months later, the Germans marched through the "Arc de Triomphe" into the French capital. It took the great Frederic seven years to give his little kingdom an acknowledged position among the leading powers of Europe, and, a century later, Prussia carries on a short but unusually successful war of *seven weeks*, which, by defeating Austria, prepares the German unity. Great as the conquests of the Seven Years' and the Seven Weeks' wars are, the last *seven months'* war outdoes

both of them in military renown, national glory, and beneficial results for the present and the future.

There is no overbearing assumption in any class of the people; on the contrary, everywhere I observe a feeling of pride and self-respect mingled with modesty, not to say meekness. It is as if each individual were dazzled by the prospects of his own great future, as if he could not yet fully realize the sudden change which has taken place in his own condition as well as in that of the world; but, at the same time, every one feels the heavier responsibility towards his country, and will cheerfully do his duty.

Hitherto, Germany has been the only one of the great nations of Europe which, for the last fifty years, has been sentenced not to work out her destinies by herself from within, but to have her lot cast by outsiders. She has now attained a greatness with which even the proudest, almost legendary, periods of her history can hardly be compared. In the interstate relations of modern Europe, Germany was a mere deadweight. These relations remained the same, or were changed, and no one took the trouble to consider the interests or ask the consent of Germany. To-day, in all great political questions, the eyes of Europe will first be turned towards her. Germany, for the first time since the days of the Reformation, feels in her veins the life-breath of history—a feeling which is in itself the greatest bliss for a people. Although she had in the meantime seen a great hero who ennobled his people, her outward position remained almost unchanged, as Frederic was politically confined to a very small sphere of action. She had, too, an incomparably grand national uprising, but, owing to the jealousies of her allies, and to the narrow-mindedness of her own rulers, her destinies were not directed into a new and broader channel. This war at last has removed the artificial obstacles which for centuries had created dissensions and enmity between the different parts of the country. Henceforth but a single breath of life will inspire the popular organism. All the various springs of life of the German people have wonderfully revived in the recovered consciousness that in future they will unitedly strive for a noble and promising commonwealth, and not merely for the satisfaction of private interests and wants. Instead of studying foreign countries, or looking for their examples abroad, the Germans will now build their own house, and lay its solid foundations by drawing from the inexhaustible sources of their own nationality.

The same stern sense of duty, and the same incessant discipline of body and mind which have won the victories of this war, will enable the Germans to maintain their higher position in peace, and to devote their energies to the home-work of internal progress and freedom. The first consequence of the downfall of French military glory will be a different and better appreciation of true heroism. It was chiefly due to the French Revolution and its subsequent wars that only military bravery and warlike deeds were taken for heroism. A Napoleonic marshal or general, with tight trousers and top-boots, big sword, and cornered hat, butchering his fellow beings by the dozen, and wading through a sea of blood, was enthusiastically cheered as a great man. What benefit has the world derived from these generals? What has remained of their achievements? If we forget the harm they have caused their country by inspiring it with the thirst for military renown and exploits, their name is all that is left of them. Unfortunately, these foolish notions had spread over the whole civilized world. Recall, in the history of your last war, the comparisons which were drawn between the Napoleonic marshals and your own generals. Little Mac was for a time the Napoleon of the Union army, Sheridan its Murat, a third one a Ney, and Stanton was proclaimed by Gurowski the American Carnot, the organizer of victory. I trust that the overwhelming defeats of these "sabreurs" by a popular army, by the disciplined farmer and workingman, will make the civilized world throw off these reminiscences like evil dreams. It will now understand that one Washington doing his duty to his country simply and modestly is worth more to mankind than a dozen Napoleons; that the name of one Lincoln, dying at the post of his duty, weighs heavier in the scales of human progress than hundreds of successful generals; and that the modest tiller of the soil, a Western farmer, does more for the lasting benefit of his fellow-citizens than a dashing colonel making the most brilliant charge in a war of conquest.

It is a most cheering observation, which I daily make, and which augurs well for the future, that, in spite of all the military exploits of the last seven months, people here are imbued with this peaceful spirit, that the Cæsarism idea has not taken the least hold on them, and that the universal desire, manifested publicly and privately, is to resume the daily business which was so frivolously interrupted by the war. For this rea-

son, peace was welcomed by all as the great harbinger of a well-deserved tranquillity, and of the return to the accustomed pursuits of civil life. The great event was celebrated here with more than usual splendor. Being announced beforehand, the illumination and public demonstrations assumed more of an official look than on former occasions—as, for instance, after the surrender of Sedan. Among the flags of all nations waving from houses and balconies, I noticed many American; but it struck me that the latter were not greeted and cheered as enthusiastically as formerly. When passing Wilhelmstrasse, opposite Behrenstrasse, I heard one of the crowd, pointing to the Stars and Stripes, cry rather ironically, "Better hoist a Remington rifle and a gold-bag; that's what the Americans are after." From the fashionable quarters I went to the far-off districts, where the poor people live, and where, on that evening (March 3), they demonstrated their joy by putting a few lighted tallow-candles into their front windows. The Berliner is a good-natured fellow, rather saucy here and there, but neither rough nor uncivil. There was no insolence or animosity towards the French in the tableaux or transparencies with which the houses and doors were decorated, only an unlimited hatred for Louis Napoleon as the instigator of the war. In the eyes of the people, he is the evil principle, the devil incarnate, the prince of hell. The German traditions of the old Napoleon, still alive in the hearts of the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation, are almost unconsciously interwoven with the deep exasperation felt by the Germans of our days against the prisoner of Wilhelmshöhe, making him the representative of all that is mean, cruel, and despicable in human nature. In one of the rougher pictures I saw old Louis as Mephisto; in another he appeared as an old, worn-out organ-grinder, his wife, with a tin plate in her hands, singing and standing at his side, and his boy sitting as a monkey on the organ; in still another, Napoleon on his knees before King William, imploring his grace. Whenever the latter and Bismarck appeared on the same tableau, they were sketched as giants, while Napoleon was the dwarf *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Bismarck has to-day returned from Versailles. He looks well and hearty, and is far from being feeble or in broken health. The most extraordinary exertions of mind and body seem to have a rather strengthening influence on his constitution. The King will be back before the 20th of this month, and open the Imperial Diet in person. From good and trustworthy authority, I can state that he is rather worn-out and subject to nervous attacks, which often for days unfit him to attend to his business. He will be seventy-four years old on the 22d inst., and has certainly, for his age, admirably stood the hardships of the campaign. After the return of King or rather Emperor William, Berlin will pass through a new series of public festivals, such as reception of the troops, a day for thanksgiving, etc.

Our "Landwehren" are leaving France, and will all reach their homes before the end of this month. The conditions of the peace are carried out strictly and exactly on the part of Germany. As you will have expatiated upon them, I confine myself to the statement that our people consider them just and reasonable. Let me here correct a mistake in relation to the motives which made the Germans enter into Paris. They did not originate in personal vanity or in any military ambition. It was at first not intended to make Paris undergo this humiliation, but the haughty tone of her press, and the supercilious cries that the "holy city" had only been conquered by hunger, not by the German barbarians (who, however, by sundry operations and movements around the city had created a famine), changed the minds of the powers who dictated the peace. Bismarck is too sober a man to allow legends to be invented, at Germany's expense, in this age of steam and telegraphs. Paris, therefore, had to see, to feel, and to suffer the presence of the hated foe, thus directly admitting that she was beaten, and giving the lie to her own bragging. But there was another and still more important end to be gained. The Assembly at Bordeaux, not suffering under the immediate effects of the German occupation, might have wasted days and weeks before mustering the courage to swallow a peace so disagreeable and humiliating to the French vanity. Bismarck, therefore, on becoming aware of this disposition, concluded to avail himself of it to his best advantage. Every day of war spared was a clear profit to our army. For these reasons he made the stay of our troops at Paris dependent upon the signature of the preliminaries of peace. This condition exerted a wholesome pressure upon the Bordeaux Assembly; within twenty-four hours it accepted the terms. The apprehension that Paris would be subject to a longer occupation by the enemy did away with long speeches, theatrical declamations, and time-killing amendments. Thus the representatives promptly performed an unwelcome duty, which

so deeply concerns the inner and outer life, the present and future of the whole nation. As soon as the resolutions of the Assembly were submitted in writing, Bismarck ordered the withdrawal of the German troops, which had, for twenty-four hours only, occupied the most fashionable quarter of Paris. The mob behaved as cowardly as usual, hissing and crying when the troops had turned their backs, and running away when they lifted a sabre or a bayonet; ill-treating defenceless women, and singing the Marseillaise. But no matter; the end has been reached, and a prompt understanding been brought about. Our armies are on their way home, and, as we all most ardently hope, never to return again to France to defend themselves against so frivolous an attack as the last one. The French will cry for vengeance, but let us likewise hope that they will soon find better employment for their leisure hours, which at present, it seems, fill their whole day.

Correspondence.

RULOFF'S SCHOLARSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Observing among your "Notes" in No. 295 of the *Nation* a few remarks about the literary attainments of the murderer Ruloff, I bethought me of a few particulars in my personal knowledge of the man which you may possibly think would be interesting to your readers. Indeed, I cannot help surmising that the "observations on a certain philological treatise" written by Ruloff while "imprisoned in a New York penitentiary," to which your note refers, are a production about which I was personally interested. If I am right in this surmise, the report given in your note is somewhat inaccurate. At all events, I will furnish you a brief statement of what I know, and you can make what use of it you please.

At a time (1850-1) when the writer of this was a student of theology at Auburn, and was in the habit of making frequent visits to the State prison with the chaplain, he became acquainted with Ruloff, who was serving out there a ten-years' term of imprisonment. The prisoner was reported to be a remarkable scholar. He was thick-set and powerful in bodily appearance, had a broad face, large mouth, and small, brilliant eyes, rather widely separated. A little fluid-lamp used to be hanging at the grating of his cell-door, a special favor conceded to his well-known love of study. He would always come briskly up to the door for a talk; was quick in perception, impatient to reply, and had a habit of setting his head on one side, with a keen, scrutinizing look, while addressed, that gave one the impression of his intention to make a pounce the moment the sentence was finished. Often he caught the word out of the speaker's mouth, and poured forth a voluble reply of his own. His language was good, with a dash of sarcasm, and what he knew, he appeared to have well in hand. About that time, the writer, as a candidate for licensure, had been assigned themes for certain trial-pieces to be presented to the presbytery. One in particular was a critical essay upon a certain passage in the Book of Acts, in the treatment of which the young theologian supposed himself to have displayed great learning, and had completed his essay with vast parade of authorities and quotation of Greek authors. This essay the chaplain wished might be shown to Ruloff. It was shown to him, and he retained the MS. a few days, after which its author went to talk with the learned prisoner about it. But the author, in that talk, stood no more chance of shining than Bill Nye did in playing with the "heathen Chinee." The learned prisoner was up to his eyes in Xenophon, and Plato, and Sophocles, and Euripides, where the young theologian was only ankle-deep; and the latter left somewhat disgusted with the ways of these convicts. In the sequel, Ruloff prepared a review of the critical essay itself, and lent it to the writer, who has always regretted that he did not make and preserve a copy of it, for it was a remarkable production. I showed it, however, to Dr. Henry Mills, the most learned linguist in the theological faculty, who, while censuring the perversity of Ruloff's argument, expressed unfeigned surprise at his unusual knowledge of Greek. Written in a firm, beautiful hand, scrupulously correct in punctuation, and sprinkled over plentifully with Greek quotations (the characters of which were deftly and elegantly formed and carefully accented), it was a manuscript to attract a scholar very powerfully. Ruloff had a considerable quantity of books in his cell, the product of over-earning at his work. I do not think he quoted "from memory," as your note

intimates. Nor, in spite of all his attainments, do I think he would have passed for what De Quincey calls "a sound, well-built scholar." He was ingenious, penetrating, persevering, curious, but crotchety, perverse, and immensely opinionated. As to the essay he wrote in review of mine, I remember that he objected, on some frivolous ground, to nearly every one of my positions, controverted all my grammatical authorities, but, of the Scriptural passage in question, had such excessively refined grammatical views, that he utterly declined to venture on any rendering or exegesis of his own.

One little memorial, a very trifling one, of this remarkable criminal I retain. It is a scrap of paper containing, in his own handwriting, a note on some words in the "Memorabilia" of Socrates (i. 7, 9). I transcribe it as a curiosity:

"ἐπὶ ζῆλον λαβεῖν" rendered by Kühner, *ad echendum adhuc*, as ἐπὶ δειπνον (as he says) may sometimes be rendered *ad coenandum*. This passage, however, seems capable of a less constrained interpretation. Compare also ἐπὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα (Mem. Soc., i. 2, 9), and ἐπὶ ἡ χάρις (ii. 3, 13), as these all require (perhaps) a common treatment."

I really think that this little scrap, when we consider that it was penned behind the grating by a man who has been convicted of the most horrid crimes, and will probably soon die on the scaffold, deserves preservation.

I remain, dear Mr. Editor, yours truly,

WILLIAM WAITE.

LANCASTER, ERIE CO., N. Y., March 20, 1871.

THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of March 23, p. 190, I find the following: "A resolution has been passed by the Massachusetts Legislature protesting against Mr. Sumner's removal from the chairmanship."

"No resolution relating to the matter has passed either branch of the Legislature of Massachusetts.—Yours truly,

HORACE H. COOLIDGE,
President of Massachusetts Senate.

Boston, March 25, 1871.

[Owing to an oversight of the printer, we said "Legislature" instead of "Senate," which would have been still an error, but not so great a one as we actually committed. The resolution was, we believe, introduced in the Senate, and we are glad to hear was not acted on.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

CITIZENS of Baltimore have contributed to the French Relief Fund the expenses of translating and publishing in English the London discourse of Father Hyacinthe on France and Germany, of which we pointed out the merits the other day. Messrs. G. P. Putnam & Sons are the New York agents for the sale of this pamphlet, the gross proceeds being devoted to the charitable object for which the discourse itself was delivered.—Messrs. E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia, will reprint from the Proceedings of the London Philological Society the lecture on Pennsylvania German with which Professor Haldeman lately finished his course at the University. It shows that this so-called "Dutch" dialect is the German of the Pfalz and of Suabia, in nearly the same state that it was brought to Pennsylvania by the emigrants from those parts nigh two centuries ago. The infusion of English is much smaller than is commonly supposed. As Professor Haldeman's lectures (on comparative philology) had but a small audience, there is good reason for giving one of them at least a wider publicity.—Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. compete with the Messrs. Harper in reprinting the vivacious "Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris," Earle's "English Premiers from Walpole to Peel," and "The Novels and Novelists of the Eighteenth Century," by William Forsyth; and they have also in press the following selections from the English storehouse: Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Play-ground of Europe," and "Mahomed Ali and his House."—Harper & Bros. will republish Azamut-Batuk's "Fall of the Second Empire;" and also announce "Three Years' Slavery in Patagonia,"

by M. Guinnard.—Chas. Scribner & Co. will publish "Martyrs and Apologists," by E. de Pressensé; and "Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore," by Robert H. Elliott.—Michelet's "France before Europe"—a most extraordinary burst of rhetoric, if not all sound and fury, signifying nothing—translated under the author's revision, is to be published by Messrs. Roberts Brothers; with Arthur Helps's "Conversations on War and General Culture."

—His native country is about to do justice to the memory of Benjamin Thompson, Count of Rumford, who, whether as a philosopher or as a statesman, must be reckoned one of the greatest men America has ever produced, though no one here has yet thought of erecting a monument to him. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences are about to publish a memoir of him, and, for the first time, an edition of his collected works. The Memoir is by the competent hand of the Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, and will form a volume of more than 600 pages, illustrated with many engravings. This will be issued in two styles—a medium quarto, on extra fine paper, costing ten dollars; and an octavo, uniform with the Works, at five dollars. The Works will be contained in four volumes, at five dollars each. Notwithstanding the fact that some of Rumford's published writings passed through several editions, it has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain them for the use of this edition. Of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Essays, transcripts had to be made from the only known copies of them in the Library of the Royal Society; another was copied from a volume in the British Museum; and still others were derived from various collections in France and Germany. A large outlay has been made in this enterprise, and it is almost an act of patriotism to lend it support. Subscriptions may be sent to the Academy (in Boston), or to the publishers, Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

—Among the other blessings of this favored country, the opportunities for the study of physical science must be counted not the least. Without quitting the boundaries of the United States, the geologist and the mining engineer can find nearly all the conditions necessary to their instruction. Nowhere in the world are there grander examples of volcanic and glacial effects, of denudation and erosion, submersion and elevation, and, in consequence, clearer revelations of the formation of the earth's crust and the history of the growth of continents. But while the traces of glacial activity in past ages are common and widespread throughout the United States, hitherto it has been supposed that there were no existing glaciers between the 49th parallel and the Gulf, and that the student of geology must still revert to the original field of observation among the Alps. This mistaken notion has been corrected by the discoveries last fall of the "United States Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel," of which a summary account has been given by Mr. Clarence King in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* for March. Mount Shasta, in Northern California, was the first height to reward the researches of the expedition among the extinct volcanoes of the Pacific Coast. Although this mountain had been previously and often ascended, the southern side had been the usual mode of access, and, as it proves, "an east and west line divides the mountain into glacier-bearing and non-glacier-bearing halves." "From the crest, a point 14,400 feet above the sea-level, I walked out," says Mr. King, "to the northern edge of a prominent spur, and looked down upon the system of three considerable glaciers, the largest about four and a-half miles in length, and two to three miles wide." Mr. Arnold Hague at the same time found, on the southern slope of Mount Hood, in the Cascade Range of Oregon, smaller but not less interesting glaciers; and Mr. S. F. Emmons subsequently explored on Mount Rainier, in Washington Territory, the grandest of all. "Ten large glaciers observed by us," he says, "and at least half as many more hidden by the mountain from our view, proceeding thus from an isolated peak, form a most remarkable system, and one worthy of a careful and detailed study." These glaciers have all the marks of motion, such as longitudinal and transverse crevasses, lateral, terminal, and medial moraines; with ice-caves and chasms only to be crossed by "snow-bridges similar to those in the Swiss glaciers," and which "lend a spice of danger to the whole examination." The coming season, we believe, is to be improved by the Exploration in making monographic surveys of Mount Baker, Mount St. Helens, and Mount Adams, and, probably, San Francisco Mountain, giving us, at the close of the summer, "a complete series of maps and studies of all the great isolated volcanic cones of the Western United States."

—The absence of glaciers in the Cordillera north of latitude 36° is attributed by Mr. King to the almost invariable west wind that sweeps the entire region, and "whose lower strata have been deprived of their mois-

ture by the warm ascending currents of the valleys." The powerful evaporation which is thereby constantly produced in the high land between the Rocky Mountains and the California Sierras is tolerably well known. In the neighborhood of the Humboldt River and Lake we believe it amounts to an inch an hour, and the effect of this on the human fluids may be imagined: the lips crack and the hands are chapped as with cold. How this would act on a population permanently settled in those parts remains to be seen; but it would seem likely to exaggerate all the physiologic phenomena ascribed to the general dryness of the air in this country, as contrasted with that of Europe. A correspondent of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, deprecating the filling in of the Back Bay tract, and urging the reservation of what remains, translates a paper read before the Helvetic Society of Natural History by M. E. Desor, of Neuchâtel. This naturalist had visited America, and he discusses the differences in the climate of Switzerland and the United States as experienced by emigrants. He says the American habit of washing the clothes every week arises from the facility with which linen dries even in winter. On the other hand, our bread dries too rapidly; but then it does not mould, and our cellars generally keep provisions well. Germans are struck with the infrequency of arborization in the frost on our panes, just as they are astonished at being obliged to resort to the hair-dresser's for pomade and Macassar oil if they would keep their hair moist. Houses newly built can be occupied almost immediately, varnish and paint dry more quickly than in Europe, and wood for cabinet-work must be chosen much more carefully, and joined with a stronger glue. Tanners dry their skins more easily, and so shorten the operation. Collections of birds and animals need much fewer precautions against dampness. M. Desor also seems to extend to man an observation of Buffon's, that "the animal species of the American continent were in general smaller than their congeners of the old continent, while nearly the reverse was true of plants." At all events, the Yankee type is opposed to *embonpoint*, and foreigners who live here long lose flesh. The American may be detected by his neck, which is slender and seems longer than it is. The hurried and nervous movements of the Americans may be traced to the dry air caused by the prevailing west wind, and so may their nervous irritability. It may be assumed also that this has much to do with the craving for stimulants and the drinking habits of the people; and finally, thinks M. Desor, with the national susceptibility.

—The most popular English publications of the past month have already been named among the announcements of our publishers here, who on the arrival of each foreign mail strive with each other in pre-empting the choice lots. A few select works may still be mentioned. The Duc d'Aumale's "History of the Princes de Condé in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" has been translated by Robert Brown-Borthwick, and should now be out. "The History of India, as told by its own Historians," is edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, by Prof. John Dowson. The Rev. E. J. Eitel, of Hong-Kong, is the author of "Sketches from Life among the Hakkes of Southern China," in five parts, treating of the topography and language; customs and manners; religion; superstition, including spirit-rapping; and literature, including popular songs. "A Hand-book of Chinese Materia Medica" and "A Vocabulary of Proper Names in Chinese and English," are by F. Porter Smith; and Rev. Justus Doolittle's "English and Chinese Dictionary" is now nearly off the press. W. R. Morfill's Oxford lectures on "The Slaves: their Ethnology, Early History, and Popular Traditions," have been made into a book, and contain also some account of Slavonic literature. A brief bibliographical essay on "The Literature of the Lancashire Dialect," by Wm. E. A. Axon, may be mentioned together with a second series of Wm. Bottrell's "Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall," which awaits the requisite number of subscribers; and the second edition—"thoroughly revised and corrected by the author, and extended to the classical roots of the language"—of Hensleigh Wedgwood's "Dictionary of English Etymology." Mr. Wedgwood has had, he says, "the benefit of the very learned and very judicious annotations of Mr. Geo. P. Marsh," whose views have in many cases been adopted. Mr. Axon also publishes "Statistical Notes on the Free Town Libraries of Great Britain and the Continent." Medical works worth reading are: "Physiological Essays" (on drink-craving, differences in men, idiosyncrasy, and the origin of disease), by Robert Bird, M.D., Bengal Army; "Neuralgia, and the Diseases which resemble it," by Dr. F. E. Anstie; and the following correlated works: "Matheran Hill" (near Poona, a favorable resort for invalids), its people, plants, and animals, by J. T. Smith; "Pau and the Pyrenees," by Count Henry Russell; and "Water

Supply: a Comprehensive Treatise on the Water Supply of Cities and Towns," by William Humber. Finally, Americans might find this book a guide to hygiene: "Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel, and Exploration," by W. B. Lord and T. Baines.

—Some Milanese students last year celebrated the marriage of a favorite professor by publishing a collection of inedited poems of the older Italian poets ("Rime inedite d'ogni secolo, pubblicate nelle faustissime nozze del prof. cav. Giovanni Rizzi colla signorina Carlotta Cella.") We quote the entire title for its prettiness, which could hardly be rendered into English. The thirteenth century is represented by a love-song of Frederic II., King of Sicily, drawn from the most ancient repository of Italy's poets and troubadours, a Vatican codex; and a sonnet of Guido Cavalcanti's, taken from Bolognese MSS. The latter source also supplies a sonnet to Messer Cino da Pistoja and a hymn to the Deity, attributed more or less doubtfully to Dante, together with two of Petrarch's sonnets and a song by Ricciardo degli Albizzi; and from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris is taken a lyric poem on Italy by Franco Sacchetti—all illustrating the fourteenth century. For the fifteenth stands Niccolò Malpigli, in a sonnet against the Court of Rome; for the sixteenth, Tasso, in a sonnet ("contro la sua donna"); for the seventeenth, Tassoni, in a sonnet, the gem of the collection, in which the shade of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, addresses Italy; and for the eighteenth, Giuseppe Baretti. A poem by Prof. Lignana is the only one by a living author, and is the voice of the present age. The volume is elegantly printed.

—Cesare Paoli, who last year published Massimo D'Azeglio's Letters to Giuseppe Torelli, now edits a compilation from the miscellaneous writings of the latter which will be found agreeable reading. D'Azeglio likened Torelli's style to Blondin's free and easy movements on the tight rope, without ever tumbling into Niagara. Dr. Channing's address on "Self-Culture," delivered in Boston nearly twenty-five years ago, has been translated into Italian by Alessandro Rossi, a senator of the kingdom, and a leading manufacturer, conspicuous for the interest he has shown in the welfare of his operatives. The introduction states that the translator's object was to benefit principally the laboring classes—a labor of love in which he has been preceded by others of his countrymen, who have turned to the United States for examples and doctrines calculated to elevate the Italian character.

—We not long since drew attention to the quiet but effective manner in which Russia was extending her Asiatic frontiers, and recent Russian papers afford ample proof of the existence of that desire for "annexation" to which we alluded. One of those chronic insurrections ever prevailing in China recently "came to a head" near the Chino-Russian frontier, at a place called Ouliassoutai, much frequented by Russian traders, who were represented and protected by a consul. The rebels surrounded the town, and the Russians, knowing its utterly defenceless character, took to flight, followed shortly after by the consul and his family, who made a narrow escape to the town of Biisk, with the loss of all their property, and in a very exhausted condition. The Russian journals which record the affair speak of it in terms of indignation, and "urge the Government to extend the Russian frontier towards the centre of China, in order to 'civilize' the northwestern districts of that country, and thus take the only effectual means of developing the Russo-Chinese trade." Judging from the advances of the past few years, the absorption by Russia of a large portion of China proper is but a matter of time.

—In some recent remarks upon the extension of the telegraph in Eastern Asia, we spoke of the indecision prevailing as to the route of the cable shortly to connect Singapore with Hong-Kong, the Franco-Prussian war rendering the future status of Saigon a matter of considerable uncertainty. The conclusion of peace, however, has again reanimated local enterprise, and a deputation from the Government of the Colony has proceeded to Singapore to arrange, if possible, with the telegraph company that the cable shall touch at that port. As the naval headquarters of France beyond the Straits of Singapore, Saigon may well desire to be thus placed in communication with the outer world. But, unless some guarantees of neutrality in case of war be entered into, it is by no means certain that the British shareholders, whose interests in China are overwhelming, will consent to thus jeopardizing the safe transmission of intelligence at the very time when secrecy would be most important. The French, however, are determined to get Saigon within the circuit if possible, and as the delay of postal communication would be fatal to their hopes, they are carrying on negotiations with the London directors by

means of the cable just completed to Singapore. Despite the doubtful result of their endeavors, the action taken shows that Saigon must have made considerable progress since its foundation as a military and naval depot, and that France is alive to the importance of preserving this one point d'appui on the shores of Eastern Asia.

—The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that the authorship of the obscene and mendacious Chinese attack on the Christian religion, called the "Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines," has been traced to one Tang Tse-shing, at the time he wrote Treasurer of the Province of Houpe—a post of some eminence. This was in 1862, and that the book should have remained unknown to European residents in China for so long a period seems almost incredible. In 1865, indeed, the French Consul at Hankow did get wind of it, and the free distribution of it to the district magistrates of Houpe and Hounan, and also its sale, were interrupted by proclamation in consequence of his protest. The secret circulation, however, continued, and the book, already well known in the central provinces, has lately been freely sent around throughout the whole of both the northern and southern districts of the empire. There have even been numerous editions, altered to suit local prejudices, the author's nativity being conformably assigned now to one department and now to another. That more trouble has not come of it is therefore surprising, and may be set down by who likes to the credit of the Chinese character. The author, meantime, it has been ascertained, was found guilty of peculation, removed from office, and condemned to death. Although the sentence was not executed, death soon followed from the depression of spirits caused by his public disgrace—a fate not very far removed from that which poetic justice would have assigned to him.

WASHINGTON BEFORE THE REBELLION.*

ABOUT the beginning of this century a worthy gentleman of Boston, a lawyer by trade, took a final leave of his friends and removed his household goods to Washington, which had just been occupied as the seat of the National Government, with the intention of spending his remaining days under the droppings of the Capitol. In less than six months he was seen once more in the streets of his native city, and in reply to the jeering enquiries of his acquaintance as to why he had come back again, he made the sensible answer, "When a man has taken a foolish step, the wisest thing he can do is to retrace it as fast as possible!" There were many men doubtless who had dearly purchased as much wisdom as this practical philosopher, but who had mired themselves so inextricably in the morasses in which, according to Tom Moore, they saw the squares of the future, that they could not escape from them so readily as he, and had perforce to remain, many of them to be swallowed up with all they possessed. No subsequent land speculations have been more frantic or more ruinous, in proportion to the wealth of the country, than that which set in soon after President Washington had selected the site of the future capital of the United States, and Congress had adopted it as such. The new city was laid out on a scale calculated for the accommodation of a million of inhabitants, and Oliver Wolcott says, in one of his letters, that the speculators believed, or said they did, that it would in time be the most magnificent city in the world, and very soon have 150,000 inhabitants, New York at that time having less than sixty thousand. The opinion prevailed strongly then which is by no means obsolete now, that all that was necessary to create a city out of a swamp, or a civilized community out of a population demoralized by centuries of slavery and mastership, was a parchment duly engrossed and authenticated by the proper official signatures, without considering the obstacles opposed by the laws of nature, human and material, or of political economy.

These laws, however, would have their way, and Washington gradually settled down into a straggling, shabby, dirty little third-rate Southern town, magnificent only in its distances—by which the Abbé Correa da Serra, the witty Portuguese ambassador, who bestowed its well-known designation upon it, intended the distances between the scattered houses rather than the spaces which separated the public buildings. And this was five-and-twenty years after the early dreams of its grandeur had been dispelled by the hard necessities of its condition. It was not until the railways had made it accessible, say about thirty years ago, that Washington began to pass from the gristle to the bone, and to close up the distances in its ranks, and the period of its greatest prosperity dates from the beginning of the rebellion, which gave it the benefit of the expenditure of large sums of

* William Winston Seaton, of the *National Intelligencer*. A Biographical Sketch. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

public moneys, and made it possible as a residence for persons not willing to purchase admission to its society by paying homage to slavery. The society of Washington was as incongruous as its conditions and its pretensions in those days. The foreign ministers brought the best of European refinement of manners and luxury, and the West and South contributed their share of backwoods crudenesses and plantation habits to make the mixture slab and good. There was always a moderate proportion of the best class of well-bred and well educated gentlemen from the North and the South in Congress, but the majority was not made up of such. The resident society was composed, till comparatively recent times, of office-holders and hangers-on of the Government of one sort and another, and a few of the Virginia and Maryland families of the neighborhood, who found even such change as Washington gave them an improvement upon what they had been used to. And these worthy persons would turn up their noses at the casual residents, such as senators and representatives and the like, as an inferior class of beings to themselves, though the pleasure of Congress was the breath of their nostrils, and they lived upon the crumbs that fell from Uncle Sam's table.

It was to such a society and to such a city that Mr. William Winston Seaton came in the year 1812. Being a Virginian of Scottish descent, it is needless to say that he had a formidable pedigree, which mixed itself up with that of sundry lords and gentles of high degree. It is fair to say, however, that his pretensions to gentle blood seem better founded than those of many of the First Families. We presume that the family had rather fallen from its original greatness from the fact, which is rather implied than plainly told, that this scion of it served an apprenticeship in Richmond to the printing business. This introduced him to his future profession of editorship, and after trying his wings in Richmond and one or two other small Southern towns, he established himself in partnership with his brother-in-law, Joseph Gales, in Washington, and established the *National Intelligencer*, for many years as integral a part of the city as the White House itself. A great part of the most interesting portion of this book, as far as it relates to Washington, consists of the letters of Mrs. Seaton to her mother, at Raleigh, N. C., where her father, Joseph Gales the elder, conducted the *Raleigh Register*, which he had established. These letters are very lively and entertaining, and give spirited descriptions of Washington life and persons then prominent on the Washington stage. The accounts of the balls and dinners are very amusing, and such as every young lady, married or single, should give to her relations and friends, and which, to do them justice, they generally do. The dinners seem to have been excellent, in the style of those days before *diners à la Russe*, and the wines were unexceptionable—comment on which, we are sorry to say, "formed the chief topic after the removal of the cloth." We grieve yet more, however, to learn that it was the custom of ladies to rouge and *pearl* unblushingly, and especially to hear that Mrs. Monroe painted very much and that Mrs. Madison herself was said to rouge. This last statement, however, Mrs. Seaton doubts, as she felt assured that she had seen her color come and go, not, we presume, like that of the lady celebrated in the "School for Scandal," whose color not only came in the morning and went at night, but her maid could fetch and carry it. Nothing of this kind, of course, has been known in Washington since that world before the flood. The balls are very divertingly described as well as the dinners, and they were perhaps more diverting in the description than the reality, if it be true that Lady Bagot, the British ambassador and niece of the Duke of Wellington, "found them a great bore, and deplored the necessity of sticking pins in herself to keep herself awake at the stupid balls."

During the long Washington life of Mr. Seaton many public characters passed over that stage, some of them of permanent interest and more that vanished from memory as soon as they left the scene. Interesting anecdotes of many of these are preserved in this sketch, but we lend our ears more readily to the accounts of unpolitical characters, such as John Law, the brother of Lord Ellenborough—whom the writer erroneously speaks of as Lord Chancellor—who sank a large fortune he had made in India in the swamps of Washington. He was a special oddity, who always carried a piece of dough in his hands without kneading which between his fingers he could not mold his thoughts into words. His absence of mind, too, sometimes placed him in predicaments embarrassing to others if not to himself, as when he forgot to put on his clothes on coming out of the bath at Berkeley Springs and presented himself to the company in the costume of Paradise. He married the sister of George W. P. Custis, who well might be made a companion portrait of his brother-in-law, had he died long enough ago, and whose extraordinary works of art at Arlington House,

which the writer of the sketch forbearingly only describes as "startling," no one can forget who has ever seen them. We should like to have heard even more of Mr. Digges, of Maryland, who went to England at the beginning of the Revolution, and was admitted to the society of the great Whigs who stood by America in Parliament, such as Fox and Sheridan, and spent his latter days in Washington. The writer errs, however, in making the Prince of Wales the leader of the Whigs during the Revolution, as he was but thirteen when the battle of Lexington began and nineteen when the surrender of Cornwallis ended it. We would say, however, that there are very few errors as to facts in this work, considering the great number and variety of them it contains. The writer, if a lady, as we infer, might well enough not have known that the punishment to which the ancestor of Mr. Digges was condemned was the ordinary penalty of treason, abolished only within the present reign, and not a caprice of Queen Bess. A later eccentric was Mr. Fox, a nephew of the great Charles, who was British minister here, and lived the life of a hermit, literally turning day into night, excusing himself, to one who invited him to dine at six o'clock, that he should be happy to do so, but that his people were waiting breakfast for him.

We have nearly finished our notice of the sketch without saying anything about the subject of it. In fact, there is not a great deal to say. The life of Mr. Seaton was an uneventful one, occupied mainly with the engrossing duties of a daily paper and varied only by one or two journeys to Canada and the North, and a short tour in England and on the Continent. His letters, however, while on these excursions, though creditable to his warmth of heart and family affection, are not inspired with that *eloquence de billet* which mark those of his wife. His hand had become so used to handling the heavy guns of the *Intelligencer* that it did not easily accommodate itself to the flying artillery of the epistolary field. He was for ten years or so Mayor of Washington, the most important duties of which office—to wit, obtaining grants and privileges from Congress by his personal influence—he performed so well that the members used to say that if he "remained mayor much longer he would bankrupt the national treasury." He was, however, in all respects an excellent magistrate. His portrait is drawn by the writer of the sketch with a loving, we believe a filial hand, and like those of Queen Elizabeth it has no shadow to it. It is hardly in nature that there should have been none, but it is honorable to his domestic character and manners that the writer should never have discerned it. He was a handsome man, of gracious if somewhat stately and formal demeanor and solid conversation, as we gather from this account of him. Having no other means of acquaintance with him, we should infer that he was rather formidable and the least in the world oppressive in society, and one whom we should prefer to respect at a distance rather than to encounter often at close quarters.

His relations with his brother-in-law and partner in the *National Intelligencer* were most honorably cordial and fraternal, each preferring the other, and knowing no distinction of interest, pecuniary or otherwise. The *Intelligencer*, begun as the organ of Jeffersonian democracy, remained of that complexion until the disgraceful administration of Jackson drove it into the opposition, of which, in its various phases till it crystallized into the Whig party and afterwards, it spoke the political sense and purposes. It was a political force for many years, and its volumes contain much material for history. Its original matter was dignified and decent, if a little heavy, in substance and form, though of course it was informed by the spirit of compromise with the slaveholders by which the Whigs hoped to mount to power. The vexed topic of slavery is skilfully avoided in this sketch, though we think we gather from it that Mr. Seaton was a slaveholder, and it is put forward that he was a promoter of that cunningest device of slavery, the Colonization Society, by which it proposed to strengthen itself by expatriating the free negroes and the slaves whose intelligence made them formidable to its safety. Though he may have accepted slavery as a domestic necessity, as he certainly did as a political one, he could have had no love for it in itself. This we think appears from his being chosen by the French Minister, M. Hyde de Neuville, in 1821, as his agent, to use his own words, "to make free one poor little slave child, in celebration of the baptism of the young Prince who is one day to rule over the Franks." No holier gift, nor one more precious, attended the baptism of the young Duc de Bordeaux, than the freedom of the young girl whom this humane diplomatist rescued from the auction-block of Moses Poor and made it at once his offering and his testimony. The election of President Lincoln and the rebellion, withdrawing at once the Government patronage and two-thirds of the subscribers, gave the death-blow to the *Intelligencer*. It lingered for a while in a moribund

condition, which not even the infusion of new blood could remedy, and it died not very long ago of inanition, and without "the dignity of death" which Mr. Seaton wished for it. Mr. Seaton paid the usual penalty of long life. The shadow of the valley of death fell upon him before he entered it. In 1860, his lifelong friend Joseph Gales died, and in 1863 he lost his beloved and admirable wife, and the next year he parted with the journal which had been so identified with his life for so much of it. And it is sad to think that his last days were darkened by poverty as well as grief. He sacrificed, as he says himself, all he possessed in trying to sustain the paper, and ended fifty-two years of labor with nothing.

The account of Joseph Gales the elder, who was driven from England by the persecutions known as "Pitt's Reign of Terror" along with Priestley and other reformers, is very interesting, though we have not been able even to hint at it. The Sketch is thoroughly entertaining, and it is done gracefully and modestly on the part of the writer. It has one deficiency, however, and to our mind a great one. There is neither index nor table of contents. Should it have the circulation we think it well merits, the publishers will increase the value of the work by supplying this want.

RUSKIN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

MR. RUSKIN must certainly be the despair of his friends. He neither follows any known law, nor is a law unto himself. He cares nothing for what any one may think of what he says, in which he is certainly right, being *always* honest and unselfish; but he cares as little if what he says to-day destroys the results of all that he has said hitherto. He especially delights in disappointing the expectations of every one who has followed his course and expects anything, but he goes so far in this as to upset logic and destroy all confidence in his consistency, and induce a very common belief in his dishonesty. He is a Phaethon who thinks he can drive his father's chariot nearer to the sun than he can bring it. Incapable of generalization, alike in art and science, he thinks that his little by-paths and short-cuts are the true roads of progress, and shrieks and rails because the world won't move therein, until the world has ceased to pay any attention to what he says; and in this state he has commenced the publication of a series of letters to the workingmen of England, in which he takes a tone in which very few of his audience can follow him, and which, for better security for their not being read, he publishes himself, and prefaces the book with a note that it will only be sent from Heathfield Cottage, Kent, on the transmission of seven stamps—no discount to the trade, and no other advertisement.

"Fors Clavigera" (key—or club-bearing chance) is a tirade with a tinge of the Jeremiad in it. It begins by accusing England of cowardice and incapacity. She is "afraid of the Russians, afraid of the Prussians, afraid of the Americans, afraid of the Hindoos, afraid of the Chinese, afraid of the Japanese, afraid of the New Zealanders, and afraid of the Caffres; and very justly so, being conscious that our only real desire respecting any of these nations has been to get as much out of them as we could."

All this, with the logical consequences of this, have produced a state of things which Mr. Ruskin will not put up with passively "an hour longer." He disclaims in advance any extraordinary unselfishness; "he has no particular pleasure in doing good; neither does he dislike it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world."

"But I cannot paint, nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else that I like, and the very light of the morning sky, when there is any—which is seldom nowadays near London—has become hateful to me because of the misery that I know, and see signs of when I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly."

"Therefore, as I have said, I will endure it no longer quietly; but henceforward, with any few or many who will help, do my poor best to abate this misery. But that I may do my best, I must not be miserable myself any longer; for no man who is wretched in his own heart, and feeble in his own work, can rightly help others."

"Now, my own special pleasure has lately been connected with a given duty. I have been ordered to endeavor to make our English youth care somewhat for the arts, and must put my uttermost strength into that business. To which end I must clear myself from all sense of responsibility for the material distress around me by explaining to you, once for all, in the shortest English I can, what I know of its causes."

His keen perception of shams, his intense and penetrating power of analysis, and absolute and uncompromising honesty of opinion, make him a most valuable and trustworthy iconoclast—a breaker of false gods; but to construct new ones, or even find the true ones, he is not the man. His

savageness and acumen as critic are in no wise supported by his correctness and knowledge as teacher. He sees always in detail and from very near, growing bitter and morose over the very irregularities and imperfections which make a more comprehensive, ultimate perfection possible. He inveighs against the incomplete without perceiving whether it be in retrograde or in advance; he desires an utopia, and rails at the world because it has not yet made one—incapable of looking back to the old standards, the mile-posts of progress, and impatient that he sees no new ones in advance. He declares that the world has stopped, and that dissolution is imminent; and all this makes him miserable, and morbid, and bitter, because he is at heart intensely philanthropic and benevolent, caring less for his own comfort than his power to do good; and so, with a last word to the workingman, to whose interests he is devoted—word which no one of them will hear or comprehend—he discharges himself of politics as the despair of philanthropy. He makes a summary of his political creed: "There is opposition between Liberals and Illiberals; that is to say, between people who desire liberty and who dislike it. I am a violent Illiberal. Now, though I am an Illiberal, there are many things I should like to destroy. I should like to destroy most of the railroads in England, and all the railroads in Wales. I should like to destroy and rebuild the Houses of Parliament, the National Gallery, and the east end of London; and to destroy without rebuilding the new town of Edinburgh, the north suburb of Geneva, and the city of New York." And, in a maxim which he lays down, he gives us clearly to understand what his practical notions of politics are: "Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies, and to extinguish ideas."

Of course, no one will enter the lists to combat Ruskin's ideas. To practical men they are simple nonsense; to theorists, too unlikely to have any effect to induce hostility. We should as soon think of discussing the practicability of Plato's Republic as of Ruskin's Monarchy; both belong to the same order of ideas, unrealizable creations of fancy, but full of suggestions of intense import. The misery, and wrong doing, and oppression-enduring around him drive the Englishman into retirement and misanthropy, while they drove the Greek into a cheerful and airy utopia, whose possibility made him a compensation for what was not. The latter was serene, tender, hopeful, the former despairing, vindictive, ironical; the one is full of faith in the *lóyos*, the other has no faith in anything. What exists of good is to him a still undestroyed relic of simplicity, an oasis of his dead utopia.

"Even with respect to convenience only, it is not yet determinable by the evidence of history what is absolutely the best form of government to live under. There are, indeed, said to be republican villages (towns?) in America where everybody is civil, honest, and substantially comfortable; but these villages have several unfair advantages. There are no lawyers in them, no town-councils, and no parliament." "Notwithstanding, there is agonizing distress even in this highly-favored England, in some classes, for want of food, clothes, wages, and fuel. And it has become a popular idea among the benevolent and ingenious that you may in great part remedy these deficiencies by teaching to these starving and shivering persons science and art." Inveighing against the notion of there being any utility in art, he says: "You may sometimes sell a picture for a thousand pounds, but the chances are greatly against your doing so—much more than the chances of a lottery. In the first place, you must paint a very clever picture, and the chances are greatly against your doing that. In the second place, you must meet with an amiable picture-dealer, and the chances are somewhat against your doing that. In the third place, the amiable picture-dealer must meet with a fool, and the chances are not always in favor even of his doing that."

If Ruskin could but be induced to embody his political notions, now scattered through many writings, and give us the ideal contained in them as an objective creation—something tangible to the perception even of theorists, we are certain that a real contribution to political literature would be the result—a curious antithesis, in all probability, of Plato's Republic.

ELECTORAL REFORM.*

POPULAR self government, acting through representation, based on democracy, so far from losing favor, is growing in favor and power all over the world. But some of the results of the machinery to put in prac-

* "Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workingmen and Laborers of Great Britain. By John Ruskin, LL.D." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1871.

* "On Representative Government and Personal Representation. By Simon Stearns." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

tice are being vigorously, and perhaps successfully, criticised. While everybody wants the majority to govern, it yet seems to turn out in practice that the minority has, on some questions, no voice in the legislation of the country at all equal to its strength among the people; while, curiously enough, on other questions, the minority has governed, and perhaps still is governing, the country. It has long been known that the theory of our Presidential elections had not only broken down in practice as to the precise thing it was intended to accomplish, but that the forms of the machinery from which the spirit had departed were well devised for occasionally defeating the popular will.

But this is not the weight of the complaint now made against our electoral machinery. The complaint—and it seems well founded—is that through party government, whether the representatives be elected by districts or by general ticket, a bare majority not only decides, but absolutely excludes, a minority nearly as large from all voice or influence in legislation. The illustrations of this arising in practice have been so frequent both in this country and in England that we need not stop here to repeat them. Hare's work on "The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal," became at once a landmark in modern political science, notwithstanding it is so abstruse, complicated, and detailed as to repel any but the most earnest or the purely amateur political student, and caused a member of Parliament to say of it that, though he approved of the theory, he never could carry the plan in his head twenty-four hours at a time. It was first doubted, then approved, by Mill; and, later, the substance of the plan was urged by Mr. Buckalew in the Senate, and Mr. Marshall in the House, and is recently incorporated, on a limited and perhaps crippled scale, in the new constitution of Illinois. The movement is one of immense importance, is evidently growing in favor, and really seems destined to be adopted wherever the basis of suffrage is tolerably extended.

The object of the work before us is to advocate and explain the proposed reform in the mode of voting, and is avowedly based on Hare's work, which it is intended to simplify and explain. In this statement of the plan and object of the work, the author has been more modest than his execution. While the idea is not new, yet bating some too lengthy quotations from Herbert Spencer and others, the plan of the discussion is in a large measure original. We cannot, in a notice like this, enter into even a statement of the proposed plan of voting. Most of our readers know it under the names of cumulative voting, personal representation, minority representation, etc. Those who have not investigated the matter would do well to obtain Mr. Sterne's book; while those who are convinced, and wish to convince others, will find the matter presented in a strong and clear, and in some respects a new, light. In saying this, we must add that, while the book is so far scientific as to be at once recognized as a respectable contribution to political science, it does not appear to us so systematic as it should be, nor so much so as we think the author could have made it; and that the style, generally good enough for such an investigation, is at times not quite enough elevated—if not careless, just a little too familiar.

The author raises a special issue with the advocates of civil service reform. We do not see the pertinency of this to the question in hand. If he believes in rotation, political appointments, and dismissals, the whole spoils system, this work is not the place to defend such a faith; and the human mind is so organized that some good people would not listen to a writer on any question who advocates such an iniquity as many believe this system to be. But we do not understand the author as advocating the present system in all its results and forms. He denies the extent of the evils charged against it, and denies that so much good as is expected would result from civil-service reform. And the gist of his argument seems to us summed up in the following sentence: "Compared with the importance for weal or woe of the power of the officers who are elected with the power of those who are appointed, the former is so preponderating that the latter sinks into utter insignificance."

When it is a question of degree—of relative importance—in the opinion of the author, and while his own estimate of the relative importance of civil-service reform may be either accepted or doubted by his readers, we cannot see that a book advocating personal or minority representation is the place to throw an obstacle in the way of another reform which is advocated by three-fourths or nine-tenths of the people who will accept Mr. Sterne's views of the necessity of a reformed system of voting. With the reform he advocates put in practice, it would still be possible, under our present spoils system, to have the best of executive and ministerial officers dismissed without any reason, and the worst and most inefficient appointed

for the most corrupt reasons. And seeing that, in the long run, "public opinion" will dominate public questions; that, though delayed, it will, in an awkwardly rigorous way, it may be, assert itself at last in *politics* and *legislation*; and seeing how closely home to every man's daily life and interests come the innumerable acts of routine administration, to say nothing of the vast moral, political, and economical questions involved in a corrupt civil service, there may be those who would doubt the relative importance assigned by Mr. Sterne to these two reforms—a question we cannot here further enter into, only repeating that we regard this part of his book as a useless and an unfortunate digression.

Recent Republications.—That a large part of the time spent by boys in fumbling over the lexicon is time wasted cannot be doubted. Neither can it be doubted that much of this time might be saved if teachers would incidentally pay more attention to derivations and the meaning of prefixes and suffixes. For example, the boy comes across the word *salubris*; he looks it out for his lesson of the day, and then goeth his way and straightway forgetteth. Now let the teacher show him that *salubris* is a compound word, that the last part of the word, the *-br-ber* is found in the Latin *fer-re*, the Greek *φέρ-ειν*, or, still nearer home, in the English *bear*; that the word *salubris* contains exactly the same elements as *safe + bear*: let the teacher once point this out and he will kill two birds with one stone. The next time the pupil will remember the word, and—what is better still—new ideas of the beauty and interest of language will begin to dawn upon him. Thus the dreary *crambe repetita* comes a step nearer to the "delightful task" of the poet's golden dream. The practical difficulty is that the ordinary teacher, too much jaded by overwork for deep thought or study, and not much informed himself on such subjects, has no convenient book to lay hand on for guidance. It is just this want that Mr. Haldeman's "Affixes" supplies (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. Revised edition). For the young pupil we fear it might be a little bewildering; but as a manual for the teacher it is full of instruction, nor can the scholar by profession read the work without great profit and mental stimulus. Naturally enough in so multifarious a work, there must be a good deal that is doubtful or conjectural. It is very questionable whether *sincerus* = *sine + cerus* (p. 88). We should hardly put the squinancy or quinsy under the prefix *syn-*, as the Q points rather to *σύνωχθη* than to *σύνωχθη*. The D of *seditio* can hardly be a "connective"; it hints rather at *sed* as the original form, an ablative, like *prod* in *prodire*. Nevertheless, open as such a work must naturally be to criticism on single points, it is one which nobody who wants to understand his own mother-tongue can afford to leave unread. The general beauty of the book is marred by a feeble Greek type and by some carelessness in the printing. Breathings are sometimes left off, as p. 45, *αμπί*; p. 54, *ανδρία*; p. 20, *ωρα*. Accents are wrong, as *καλὸπρω*, p. 43; *κεχρηστές*, p. 185; *πνεύμα*, p. 20; *φρενίς*, p. 212. Quantity is violated in *ἔπρω*, p. 208; *τέγο*, p. 58; *πλεο*, p. 89; *εὐκλέος*, p. 240. The following objectionable forms can hardly be laid to the proof-reader: *moereo* for *maereo*, p. 141; *humeo*, p. 252, *humeeto*, *humidus*, p. 104, for *umeo*, etc.; *lamina*, p. 165, for *lammina*. On p. 19, *connecto* is given as an example for the pronunciation of double N. Why are our American scholars so slow to learn that *conectere conivere coniti conubium* are the only Latin forms, and that the double N is a barbarism?

The receipt of the fourth edition of Goodwin's "Greek Moods and Tenses" (Cambridge: Sever, Francis & Co.) gives us an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to its very great merits. It is almost a model of what a text-book ought to be, and the successive editions have enabled the author to correct such errors as the book originally contained. It is exceedingly difficult to make a book which shall be at the same time practical and not superficial; but this Prof. Goodwin has apparently succeeded in doing. The metaphysics of Greek moods and tenses can only be studied with advantage by one who is already well acquainted with the language; and yet so subtle was the Greek mind that it seems almost impossible to explain the practical use of their complex modal system without diving deeper than the undergraduate at least can follow. Hence most Greek grammars have been so abstruse that the pupil had a very misty idea of optatives and subjunctives. But the publication of Mr. Goodwin's book began a new era in the study of Greek in this country. After a thorough course of it, an ordinary student feels as much at home among the optatives as in our own *mays* and *mights*. The greatest service that has been rendered to syntax for many years was the distinguishing of the particular and general conditions—a service for which we are indebted to this book. It is not a little odd that after the acute investigations of German

scholars it should have been reserved for the "practical American" to give the clue to the protasis and apodosis. The more scientific treatment of relative sentences also dates from the publication of this treatise. So, too, the more accurate distinction between the tenses of the infinitive and the different uses of the aorist of that mood belongs chiefly to Mr. Goodwin. Apart from the original ideas contained in it, the chief characteristic of the work is its really practical character and the numerous examples with which each statement is supported, which make it a safe guide for the student either in studying the system or in translating from English into Greek. It is unfortunate that we have nothing of the same kind in Latin. If that could be arrived at, we should have a good foundation for a comparative syntax of the Indo-European languages which would lead the way to a better knowledge of the logical history of the human intellect—an exceedingly curious subject of enquiry.

Clips from a German Workshop. By F. Max Müller, M.A., etc., etc. Volume III. Essays on Literature, Biography, and Antiquities. (New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. 12mo, pp. 492.)—When the first two volumes of this series were published, Professor Müller was planning to follow them up with two more—one on language, and one on general literary subjects. The plan seems now to have been modified by the omission of the third volume, and we are given to understand that the one just issued will be the last. We conjecture that the author has come to realize the presence of too much that is unsound and insufficient in the old basis of his linguistic science to make his scattering contributions to it worth gathering up. The present volume cannot pretend to any such career as its predecessors had, since it deals with subjects comparatively accessible and often treated, and on which the author has no higher authority to speak to us than a great many of his contemporaries. Yet nearly all the essays that it contains are able and interesting. The first is a really valuable sketch of German literature from the earliest times; it was originally published as introduction to a volume of selections from German authors. Then follow several more indifferent papers on special points in German literary history; among them a sketch, rather brief and slight, of the life of Schiller, and an account of the author's own father, Wilhelm Müller, a poet of real merit, though not of wide repute, who died while his more celebrated son was a very young child. Three articles on French subjects come next; the most entertaining of them is that on the Sieur de Joinville and his naïve narration of the deeds and adventures of his king and master, St. Louis of France. The succeeding trilogy shows us England and English matters as seen by German eyes; and many students of English literary and scientific history will be glad to learn something of how Bacon is regarded in Germany, and why. Once more comes a set of three related articles, apparently the result of some summer's residence in Cornwall, on Cornish antiquities and matters connected therewith; these, as involving etymological researches and archaeological combinations, have more that is characteristic of Professor Müller in them than anything in the earlier part of the volume. The collection is brought to a close by a lively and appreciative sketch of the life, genius, and labors of the author's patron and life-long friend, Bunsen, from which many will be glad to learn something of the many-sided activity and noble spirit of that truly great man. The friends and admirers of Bunsen, too, will find no small interest in the extended series of letters from Bunsen to Müller, which, under the title of an appendix to this article, fill up the remainder of the volume. But we must say that they seem to us to be crowded in here quite out of place; they are in no sense of the word Müller's "clips," and they are in much too great bulk to constitute a legitimate appendix to a biographical notice, since they occupy more than a fifth part of the pages of the whole volume, and, being in small print, constitute somewhere between a quarter and a third of its readable contents. In the hands of Bunsen's biographer, or as parts of a special and independent tribute to Bunsen, they would have been welcome material; but it was certainly an error of judgment to put them before the world as a part of Müller's collected essays.

The volume, as a whole, will not perceptibly add to Müller's reputation; it contains nothing which, in point of eloquent style and attractive handling, will bear comparison with some of his former productions; but those who may be led by its author's fame to possess themselves of it will find it will repay their study.

Hymns and Poems. Edited by Rev. T. V. Fosbery. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1870.)—Mr. Fosbery is, or was, an English country vicar,

and this volume of his was no doubt primarily intended for the sick and suffering of his own communion. He has, for instance, so arranged the pieces which he has gathered together that each expands or illustrates more or less well some phrase or sentence of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. Thus, as that Office begins, "Peace be to this house and all that dwell in it," the first poem is a hymn entitled "Peace," from the pen of Henry Vaughan:

"My soul, there is a country
Afar beyond the stars,
Where stands a winged sentry
All skilful in the wars.
There, above noise and danger,
Sweet Peace sits crowned with smiles,
And One born in a manger
Commands the beauteous files.

"He is thy gracious friend,
And (O my soul, awake!)
Did in pure love descend
To die here for thy sake.
If thou canst but get thither,
There grows the flower of peace—
The rose that cannot wither,
Thy fortress and thy ease.

"Leave, then, thy foolish ranges;
For none can thee secure,
But One who never changes,
Thy God, thy Life, thy Cure."

Our hymnals, by the way, make too little of this fine hymn, though it is perhaps better adapted to their particular purpose than almost any other production of the important school to which its author belonged. The Silurist, as Vaughan was quaintly styled, was one of Herbert's most faithful admirers, not to say copyists; though he rather walked in the same path as his master than trod in his footprints, and was no servile imitator. Like his master and his fellow-pupils, he made hymns and spiritual songs which are full of pith and of a holy thoughtfulness, often ardent with love indeed, but very far removed from the feeble pious sentimentalism of very many modern hymns. They usually have, however, the great faults, considered as hymns, of being unsingable, and of requiring too much of the attention of the understanding. From both of these characteristics "My soul, there is a country," is perfectly free. Perhaps its author was momentarily under the influence of the sweetest of mediæval ecclesiastical poets, Bernard of Morlaix. The latter part of the hymn we have quoted would seem to bear witness that its author was fresh from the reading of the "De Contemptu Mundi," with its mixed, reiterated, and crowded metaphors—blemishes turned necessary beauties—so descriptive of the homesick but rapturous longing of the saints for "the Celestial country," "Jerusalem the golden, the glory of the elect."

The singableness of poems and hymns is not, however, that quality in them which fits them for the readers whom Mr. Fosbery had in mind, and he has drawn very largely from the treasures of the earliest Protestant religious poetry of England—the poetry which bears the stamp of the thoughtfulness impressed on the English religious mind by the English Reformation in general, and by that notable product of it in particular, the English version of the Scriptures.

Later poets than these cannot be said to have been wholly neglected, though they figure in the compilation to an extent not proportionate to the relative quantity, and perhaps to the relative value, of their work and that of the men above referred to. It is, for example, noticeable that Charles Wesley is made to contribute but one piece, and that Watts is not admitted at all. Earlier poets than those of the Reformation school are accorded admission much more sparingly still. But the book seems to us to be a very good one, and likely to do what it is to be hoped it may do—fulfil the compiler's desire of giving comfort and more content to minds that are in peculiar need of both.

Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology. Edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," etc., etc. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Rivingtons. 1870.)—The title-page designates Mr. Blunt as editor and not as author of this work, but neither a preface nor a note or mark attached to a single article points out a co-laborer, or indicates in what way the editor has been aided in his arduous undertaking. Possibly the term chosen—and chosen from reasons of modesty—is to make us understand that the extensive "dictionary" before us does not, in the main, embody articles originally elaborated from primary sources, but articles presenting in an abridged form the substance of the investigations of others. But be this as it may, Mr. Blunt's publication represents a vast amount of theological learning, well digested, and put into a convenient shape for the ben-

effit of both regular and occasional enquirers into subjects of ecclesiastical interest. Even those to whom the exceedingly narrow Orthodox-Anglican standpoint of the editor may appear far from satisfactory will find it a valuable addition to their books of information or reference in the same field. That standpoint it makes no attempt whatever to cover or disguise; it spurns all coquetting with criticism, and most of all with what it designates as "higher criticism." Thus we read in the conclusion of the warm argument in favor of "Everlasting Punishment:"

"A few remarks may be added respecting the danger of rejecting this doctrine on account of certain *a priori* opinions or objections of our own.

If doctrines which, like this, are unquestionably contained in God's Word are to be given up because we think them unreasonable and untenable, the same criterion may fairly be applied to other doctrines which have the same authority and sanction; and thus we may reject, and on this principle many have rejected, what Christians generally consider the fundamental or essential doctrines of the faith, as the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Atonement, and the resurrection of the body. If we profess to believe that the Bible is really God's revealed Word, we are bound by our very admission to receive it in its entirety, and cannot without manifest inconsistency either admit or reject any portion merely in accordance with our own private opinion or judgment."

Beyond this legitimate exclusiveness, however, some of the articles betray leanings in judgment which are obviously the outgrowths of less legitimate predilections and antipathies. Thus, for instance, a comparison of the articles "Jesuits" and "Judaism" will show that the writer or writers employed different scales in weighing the merits and demerits of different antagonistic systems. The weakest sides of the doctrines enunciated by the disciples of Loyola are treated—or ignored—in a spirit of mildness and toleration strangely contrasting with the severity and harshness with which the tenets and character of the followers of Moses are censured. The Law of Moses, according to the last-mentioned article, "was a mere system of fleshly justification;" Tacitus has photographed the Jews of the time of the authors of the Mishna and the Apostles "with unerring fidelity"—even when calling them a "projectissima ad libidinem gens," in comparison with the Romans of the Neronian period; and "such is the Jew of the nineteenth century:" "hardened in his infidelity, bigoted in his self-regard, and inveterate in his hate for the Christian name." And the latter assertion is made immediately before mentioning as authorities such liberal Jewish writers of our times as Jost, Fürst, Zunz, Munk, Geiger, Kaiserling, and Philippson.

The misquoting, in one sentence of the same page (380), of a number of other Jewish literary names—thus: "Creisenach," "Hildenheim," "Luzatto," "Gratz," "Fassel," "Jellenick," for Creizenach, Hildesheim, Luzatto, Grätz, Fassel, Jellinek—and such misspelled or false titles, in the same connection, as "Die Offenbarung," "L'Universe Israelite," and "Zeitschrift für Hebr. [Jüdische] Theol.," show the occasional defectiveness—to say the least—of the strictly editorial labor bestowed upon the work. Another defect is inconsistency in the plan. While some of the articles offer plenty of historical details, others treating of analogous subjects consider only doctrinal points. Thus we find very little about Jesuitism and a great deal about Jesuits in the respective article, while "Gnosticism" almost entirely ignores the Gnostics—leaving unmentioned even such masters of Gnostic thought as Basilides, Valentinus, and Bardesanes.

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was the effect of a "natural necessity" which there was no "moral ability" in the body to hinder; its reunion in 1870 was the result of "moral necessity" which there was no longer any "natural ability" in either of the separate members to hinder. A stringent ecclesiastical system which holds its members together by a vow of allegiance to the words of a formula or to the rubrics of a ritual, and which has in its very structure a tendency to centralization in a supreme and final authority to interpret standards, issue causes, and enforce conformity, has within itself also a logical tendency to disruption, whenever the spirit of progress, swelling the hearts of the Liberals, shall strain formularies, and provoke the Conservatives to tighten the bands of arbitrary power. It was the spirit of freedom asserting itself against slavery—then a neutralizing element in the church, and liberalizing church action and theological opinion, which had strained the Presbyterian system for some years prior to 1837, and which the Conservatives sought to exorcise by the forcible ejection of the Liberals. Zeal for "the standards"—the *ipsissima verba* of the Confession—became the test of Orthodoxy and almost of personal integrity. The law of self-preservation in a centralized system, the foreordained antagonism between the letter and the spirit, repelled those who were no longer held together by strong moral affinities. The controversy was not a war of words, but of tendencies and ideas, if not of principles.

But after the separation the New School body gradually discovered that it was weak organically in the exact ratio of that moral freedom which had given it strength as a party within the original organization. Had it fully worked out the law of liberty, it might have become a great religious power in the land, strong numerically, financially, and spiritually, though making little show of ecclesiastical unity, and no attempt at uniformity. But there came a reaction from this tendency toward consolidation; one by one its distinctive principles of ecclesiastical union with freer churches, of co-operation in voluntary societies, and of popular administration in church affairs, were relinquished in favor of a more unified and coherent denominational action. Other causes in the religious movements of the times worked toward this result. Meantime secession had relieved the Old School Church from the drag of slavery, and the younger men in that church had become liberalized in thought and spirit. Episcopacy, Methodism, Roman Catholicism, were growing, and this was attributed to compactness of organization; scepticism was threatening not church extension only, but Christianity itself; and it was unseemly that two great bodies of the same name, faith, and order should be rivalling one another in every town and village, instead of working together for the same end; and so a moral necessity united what a logical necessity had divided. The movements toward reunion, and the consummation of the act, were highly creditable to the Christian magnanimity of both parties. The whole story is told in this memorial volume by representatives of both sides, and by historical documents. Every intelligent Presbyterian will wish to keep this as a household book, and it will have a permanent place in the Church History of the United States. The Historical Reviews from opposite points are mutually contradictory in sundry particulars; but there is no spirit of recrimination in the attempt to justify the attitude of either party at the division. The Old School claim to have surrendered nothing of the integrity of the standards, the New School nothing of the freedom of interpretation; but if unity shall run into uniformity to the prejudice of liberty, then division will be as much a necessity of the future as it was of the past.

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